Race Problem - 1921.

United States.

# THE RACE PROBLEM—RUMOR AND THE TRUTH

N. Y. C. OUTLOOK
SEPTEMBER 14, 1921

## BY ARCHIBALD RUTLEDGE

It was with the superintendent of an iron furnace located in Ohio that I was talking. He had been describing the building of a new furnace, in the construction of which the best mason-work is essential. "I never in the world would have finished on time if it hadn't been for two bricklayers from Alabama," he said. "They did more work and better work and they worked more cheerfully than any other men I had. They were Negroes trained at Tuskegee."

Twenty-five miles southeast of Norfolk, on a lone stretch of the Virginia beach, I was talking with a solitary white fisherman, the owner of a huge fish-trap—an arrangement of nets of formidable length and strength, extending far out into the raging surf. Among the sand dunes were some shacks where, he told me, the fish were packed on ice as soon as they were brought in from the trap, a half-mile off shore. I say he was alone; but there was a boatful of men along the net, and another at the trap. As we stood watching them, the second boat, evidently having acquired a load of fish, set off for the shore. There were eight men in her, all Negroes. Manfully they oared their 25-foot boat, burdened to the seats with a heavy catch; and, as the craft came reeling in through the breakers, I heard the men singing. Singularly appealing was the whole scene: the wild and solitary beach; the plunging breakers; the single white man standing with me on the shore, like a guiding intelligence for his workmen; certain ospreys and a bald eagle hovering over the grim fish-trap; and the daring fishermen bringing the overloaded and unwieldy craft in through the treacherous surf. And they were singing. I thought of Noyes's "Forty singing seamen in an old black barque."

"They are all Negroes," my friend was telling me. "You can hardly get a white man to stay down here and do this kind of work. But these men are cheerful and strong, and they are good seamen. Besides, they never give me any trouble."

Geographically we shall move southward four hundred miles or so. The scene is a huge cotton-seed oil mill on the outskirts of Charleston. Here four hundred Negro men are employed. There are perhaps six white men in the plant. My brother has been the superintendent here for nearly fifteen years. Often he is the only white man in the mill; and the mill stands remote from all other places of industry. Here he employs his four hundred men. Here, if you will go with me, you will see them: yard-hands, singing at their work; mechanics in the engine-room, with that deft skill of their craft writing its lesson of intelligence and care on their open features; here in the pressroom, stripped to the waist because of the great heat, are powerful specimens of the black race, toiling without respite. Everywhere there seem to be good cheer, hard work, understanding, and often a human sympathy and mutual regard deepening into affection.

And this is one more picture. A rice-planter has died. For a generation he has been a wise man and just, kindly, humane, generous. To the Negroes he has been more than an employer. He has befriended them in a thousand ways. Often he has denied himself to share with them the little that he has. They have always counted on him, loved him, trusted him. And now he is gone. What do they do? For miles they come to do him honor. They come, the young and the old, to show their genuine affection for a genuine friend. What can they do? They might be of some little help, at a time when most human help seems a vain thing, but they do not really help. Their grief is too great. "The whole trouble was," wrote one who saw the scene and who described it to me, "that the Negroes were crying so much that they seemed able to do nothing else. I have never seen people so inconsolable."

All that I have said is meant to show that, while Rumor would have it that the South is on the verge of a terrific race-war, Truth, if known, will show that in the daily grind of work and of life millions of white people and of Negroes meet and mingle, understand each other, are mutually helpful, mutually dependent, and manage to get along wonderfully well. Indeed, I do not think it is too much to say that the white man and the Negro get along as well together in the South as the white and the white, and the Negro and the Negro. But because of the prurient appetite of the American public for things startling and scandalous, and because of the aptness of the American press to feed this morbid craving, many people have come to believe that conditions in the South are perilous. As a matter of fact, thousands of communities exist year after year without any hint of "race conflict," to use a futile and high-sounding phrase. In the vast majority of these such a thing as a lynching has never and will never be known; and the people there read with amazement and horror of what has happened somewhere else in the South as of a matter as much detached from their own experiences as if it had occurred in Senegambia or in Afghanistan. The whole trouble is, of course, that human nature is so constructed that tales of the sordid and the gross have that peculiar kind of instantaneous appeal that satisfies our restless demands. It is vain to lay blame on this appetite, and it is useless to censure the press, which merely supplies what the public desires. But it is tragically wrong to form our opinions and habits of mind from sources no more reliable than the newspapers, or, if reliable, so narrow. It is easy to cite other matters in which our daily press misguides the public.

During the month of August, 1921, I carefully read the Philadelphia, New York, and Washington papers for the cruel purpose of finding tales as wild and as misleading as some that we read of race riots. Here are a few examples of what I found: "A bald eagle, attempting to carry off a child, held two women and a man with a pitchfork at bay for half an hour." "A farmer making hay was struck on the hand by a deadly 'puff adder.'" (Every small boy should know that the adder is a harmless snake.) "A wild deer raced and distanced the Manhattan Limited, going at fifty miles an hour." Now, all these things sound interesting, but they are not true. In each case there is probably a particle of truth; imagination and a most fertile invention account for all the rest.

In the same manner we read of dread doings in the South. For many years I have lived in the North; but I go home regularly. I confess that after a year's absence, having in the meantime read of the "thunder-heads that loom to presage a mighty conflict of the races," I expect things at home to be different. I anticipate that all the men of both races will be going about armed to the teeth, that the favorite house-dogs will be bloodhounds, and that the chief topic of conversation will be the coming war. My year's reading of the newspapers has fully prepared me for all this. But at home I find things unchanged. I see the same cotton-fields, saved valiantly by the same Negroes and the same mules from being an agricultural shambles; from cabins beside the road I hear the same utterly mirthful and infectious laughter; from the railway home I pass hundreds of these in my long cross-country drive of forty miles, and never once is there a furtive look, a guarded word, a suspicious figure. Things are as they have been for a long time; far better in many respects, and in others certainly not worse. My fears are slowly calmed. I shed the armor of suspicion and mistrust I have been wearing. Relieved, I meet my old friends and neighbors, and begin not to be surprised to see no automatics and bowies decorating their persons. The whole thing has been a hoax. I have been fooled beyond words.

On my return North I am expected to relate my trying experiences. Indeed, I am suspected of being disingenuous when I declare that all the memories of my visit are happy and placid ones. True, I passed through a rural section where there is at least ninety per cent Negro population; but I saw no trouble, heard of no trouble; and I could not justify myself in sensing any trouble. In this matter the testimony of a more experienced man than I may have weight. For a matter of fifteen years he has been a State policeman; and he has had almost sole charge of an immense territory, about thirty square miles. He rode with me for more than twenty miles, and we talked much about this same so-called "problem."

"We get along very well together," he said. "We haven't had any real crime here in eight years. We have never had a lynching, nor the crime that usually causes it. In six months I have had to make only a few arrests. Most of my work is in adjusting little differences between Negroes so that they will not come to a serious quarrel. I lay some of the improvement to prohibition; when we had whisky, many a Saturday night I never expected to get home alive. It was not that the Negroes were bad; it was because they would drink, and the whisky was bad. We had shooting and cutting affrays every week. I didn't escape," he added, pointing to a huge scar seaming his face from throat to eyebrow. "But now all is different. We seem to understand each other better. There is less talk and more work. The greatest excitement we have these days is when a new lodge is formed, or when some fraternal order initiates members. And I should say that conditions here are about representative of what they are in the South in general."

Such testimony is heartening; and, while it is a fact that wherever human beings are found there is more or less friction due to what Johnson termed "the anfractuosities of the intellect," and of course of the temperament, from all I have seen and have been able from authentic sources to learn of conditions in the South, there is less trouble now between the white man and the Negro than there has been for a decade. Perhaps this is due to a tacit philosophy of life, of unbounded usefulness, which agrees to live and let live, and placidly to refuse to put to the test many of those things which are important in theory only, and are therefore of no importance at all. Men who feel this have a sufficient degree of genuine Christian spirit to comprehend and to reverence the term "my neighbor."

It is generally supposed that the crime of rape is responsible for most of the lynchings in the South; and perhaps this is true; for nothing so outrages the people of the South as this particular offense. Nothing to them is so vital as the chastity of their women; and in this belief they are right. Yet such a belief does not everywhere prevail, even in our own country. I can name counties in States along the Mason-Dixon Line where rape is appallingly prevalent; where it is no uncommon thing for a county judge to have a half-dozen cases of it to settle in a monthly term of court; and where it is regarded as so comparatively venial a peccadillo as to be capable of settlement out of court for certain small financial considerations. This is not hearsay nor guesswork. I know the people. I know well one judge who has many such matters to handle, and I have talked with him on the question. Any one who doubts my statement should read the weekly papers of small county circulation in the States to which I have referred. In the South a case of rape is honored with blazing and flamboyant headlines in the daily press; in other parts of the country such matters are run in with accounts of the heavy rains in the rural sections, the failure of the peach crop, and the festivals of farming communities. And I do not know which is worse taste: whether to shout abroad the news in frenzied fashion, or whether to mention it casually, along with corn-huskings, barn-raisings, and other diversions of the countryside. Of course our astonishing frankness about matters which a generation ago were never mentioned has something to do with the printed circulation of stories of the unhappy type described.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this nameless crime, of which the Negro race stands theoretically indicted, is exceedingly rare in the South, and it is becoming decidedly more rare. We are told, perhaps, that ten or twelve Negroes have in a year been lynched for this crime. But in the South are millions upon millions of innocent, hard-working, law-abiding, decent Negroes, self-respecting and respected. Let us judge the conduct of the race by these. And it is just so to do, for the America worthwhile is, in general, the America which never gets into the newspapers. The soul of a people can never be gauged by the baleful examples of its notorious members. Do not judge the ocean by a waterspout, nor the mountains by a volcano. For all the fire of Krakatoa, there is a peace in the silent hills of home, abiding and sure.

All that I have tried to say has been for the purpose of showing that racial conditions in the South are wonderfully sound and wholesome. They constitute something like a modern miracle. This melancholy uproar about race war is a mirage of sound. Of course trouble occurs; but trouble is a constant human quantity. It occurs in the South, not because there are two races there, but because there are millions of human beings there. It occurs everywhere. But if it occurs in the South, and between members of different races, the fact gains some notoriety. This is partly due to the fact that readers of newspapers have been taught to believe to expect something painfully exciting whenever a clash of Negroes and white men is reported from the South. Such clashes occur, and will reoccur; but the difficulty is no deeper than human weakness. By that I mean impatience, unfair dealing, lax morality—in short, vice—wherever found and in whatever race, is sure to bear its bitter crop of dissension and suffering. "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, and peace," because they are the fruits of Christian virtue. Loving-kindness is, the world over, the only solvent for the "thousand natural ills of mortalkind." Indeed, without loving-kindness human nature were necessarily diagnosed merely as an incurable disease.

In the day's work, therefore, the white man and the Negro meet, toil together, banter each other with a perfectly understood sort of good-fellowship, and see the day's labor through together. The thunder-heads of racial conflict that I imagined I saw rising loomingly over my part of the country are mirages. I am sure of it, for I have found in widely separated parts of the South the same mutually helpful spirit among the whites and Negroes. There is a working understanding, accepted by both parties; and that is more than a huge advantage in human affairs; perhaps it is a genuine solution for the so-called "problem" of the two races.

I personally long have known that I had much to learn from the Negro. I have been indebted to him for many secrets of woodcraft; for the fine philosophy of good cheer; for droll stories which are witty without being like Balzac; for a peculiarly effective understanding of animals; for craftsmanship in mason-work, in carpentry, in boat-building; for an unwearied spirit in fighting, through the humid summer months on a vast plantation, acre upon acre of waist-high weeds; for the quiet acceptance of many of the changes and chances of life; and for a pure and abiding faith in the goodness of God. I do not mean to say that I have acquired all these virtues; but in the Negro I have seen them, recognized them, and learned to respect them. I wish that all of them were mine.

And others are coming to share my view. When I learn that the students from one college in Alabama go, by classes, to see the farm-work at Tuskegee, and that the two races meet on this plane of appreciation and helpfulness, I think that the dawn is indeed coming. A rational, working understanding is all that is needed; and I think it has really begun to be established.

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VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
OCTOBER 18, 1921

## WHITE AND NATIVE MAJORITIES

The old fear of a vast increase in the negro population, with embarrassing or calamitous consequences, is again shown to be without basis. A generation ago the census figures in this connection caused much apprehension, especially in the South which held and still holds the bulk of the negroes; but for two or three decades the figures have pointed toward an issue much less disturbing, and the figures for 1920 seem to leave no cause for further uneasiness. The negro birthrate is still large, but is more than offset by the death rate. The showing of a 6.5 per cent increase of negroes, as compared with an 18.1 per cent increase of native whites of native parentage, indicates that under modern conditions the black man is steadily falling behind numerically.

The figures also indicate that this country is not in danger of being "swamped" either by the darker races or the white foreign elements. In 1910 of the total population of 91,972,266 the percentage of white people was 88.9. In 1920 of the total of 105,710,620 the white percentage was 89.7. Of the white race, 74.3 per cent in 1910 and 76.7 per cent in 1920 were native born. The foreign born in 1910 were 25.7 per cent; in 1920, 22.3 per cent. Whites of native parentage in 1910 were 53.8 per cent; in 1920, 55.3 per cent. Whites of foreign parentage in 1910 were 14.0 per cent; in 1920, 14.8 per cent . Whites of mixed parentage also showed a slight gain in 1920 . Thus larger families are indicated among native whites of foreign parentage than among those of native parentage, but the difference is not great.

In more particular form the increases are given as follows: White, 16 per cent; negro, 6.5 per cent; Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc., 3.4 per cent; native white, 18.6 per cent; foreign born white, 2.8 per cent; native white of native parentage, 18.1 per cent; native white of mixed parentage, 16.9 per cent.

The figures clearly point toward white supremacy and even native born white supremacy as certainly permanent conditions, although among the native born whites the newer stocks may in great part gradually supplant the old owing to the tendency toward "race suicide" among the latter.

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# COLOR QUESTION TOBEBIGISSUEAT ARMS MEETING

Chicago Whip

11/21

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12.—According to Prof. Herbert J. Seligman, now writing for the Washington Tribune, it is the race question, and not disarmament, which is the chief issue at the arms conference about to be held in Washington.

According to the writer, European society maintained itself at the expense of the colored peoples of the world. He says further:

What is the especial interest of the Washington conference for the colored races of the world?

Millions of the colored races of the world have been held in subjection by those very armies and navies, which the white governments finally turned against each other. Every nation taking part in the Washington Conference has committed crimes against weaker colored peoples. Great Britain has held India. She fought China to force the Chinese to buy that terrible drug, opium. Even now there are uprisings in India which are being put down in bloody combat. France has imposed her rule on Indo-China. Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain have killed, robbed, exploited the natives of Africa, Haiti for five years was subjected to the boyonets of United States Marines.

This robbery of the weak has been known as imperialism. European governments reached out for territory in which they could obtain raw materials cheap and make the natives buy manufactured products at a high price. The excuse was often that it was necessary to "civilize" the natives or maintain "order." What the men in control of the white governments were after, was profit, money. And the most effective part of the transaction were armies and navies.

In reaching out for undeveloped territory, the white governments came into conflict. A number of writers, including Mr. E. D. Morel and Mr. Walter Lippman, in his "The Stakes of Diplomacy" have asserted that it was scrambling over the loot in Africa and other territories that brought about the World War. The greed of white governments found its punishment.

The time has come when Western Civilization will have to change its methods in dealing with the colored races. For Africa has been gobbled up. There remains only China and the Far East to be disposed of. Europe has been maintaining its inequitable and out-of-date society at the expense largely of the colored races of the world. They will have to be taken into partnership and the machinery of force discarded by which they have been held in subjection.

This is the broad background of interest for the colored peoples of the world, black, yellow and brown, in the Washington Conference.

So it will be seen that it is not merely "disarmament" which is to be discussed there. In fact the invitation to the conference did not mention the word "disarmament."

Race Problem - 1921.
United States

# The "Social Equality" Lie!

(Drucilla Dunjee Houston.)

Houston Informer 4/23/21

Again the white press has raised the cry that the Negro is fighting for "social equality." Before the world war most white editorials were surcharged with the mortal fear of the Negro brute. In the Southland, he hid behind every bush, but the atrocities upon European battlefields by white soldiers proved this favorite charge against the Negro so baseless that now we hear much less about white terror of the Negro beast.

Nothing remains for the "yellow press" but the two remaining slogans, "Social Equality" and "Negro Domination." With Truth we must tear these two last sophistries away. To do so, will be like drawing the teeth out of the jaws of race hate. The preposterous conceit of the white man, that leads him easily to believe that the all-absorbing passion of black people is to marry some white, has been a perpetual astonishment to me and a secret anguish that my people be so greatly misunderstood.

This monster injustice compels me thus to speak. I passed my childhood and youth among the finer types of white people, as the child star of a great city, taking part on white programs as a distinctive feature, sleeping in the bed often with the white minister's daughter, royally entertained in fine homes, petted, praised and renumerated, but when I reached womanhood, though prepared to travel on this shining pathway, I deliberately chose to go down the humbler channel of sacrificial race service.

Today had I the choice, I would not change an incidence of my life. I could not give up the merry, loving, impulsive, trustful, heroic Negro that I have known for any other group in the world.' All these years I have worked among them and they have satisfied every longing and impulse of my heart. I could not live without or away from Negroes. The mass of white people are too colorless, they do not twinkle and sparkle and flash like the entertaining Negro: The most loved and feared type upon the face of the American continent.

I am a black-American; but I would not marry the average white man, because he is my inferior. I could not and would not mate with a race type that would rob a weaker race of the virtue of its womanhood, as was done in slavery's days; a race which greedily seizes for itself all the emoluments and easy places of American life; which disfranchises, segregates and murders the defenseless and unprotected. I consider myself and my people the superior of the average man of such a race.

A race which, with all its power of press, is almost universally silent upon such monster injustices. Compelling us to use the keen-edged sword of truth. A race whose statesmen are all silent, who all sit upon the fence, when it comes to fighting for the rights of the weak. A race whose Christianity consists in moral platitudes, excepting a small heroic band, fighting for the true brotherhood of all of the men of the world. Social equality, the false cry of America's whited sepulchres full of rottenness and dead men's bones.

Educate the Negro and you need have no fear. The inter-mixture of black and poor white blood since slavery has produced offspring inferior to our original race types. This amalgamation is viewed by the educated Negro with the utmost abhorrence. We look with contempt upon the pretended prejudice of the race hater, who, while refusing to sit beside a Negro in a street car, seeks him out after night's shadows have fallen to ally himself to the race in closest ties of blood.

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Chicago Defender 4/23/21

# A MEDIEVALISM

THE IDEA that one breed of people is wickeder or better than another is pure prejudice and puerile mindedness, says "The Spectator." He is right, but the next thing is to convince the great world army of unwashed of the truth of this assertion. Prejudice is as old as man and crops out in the most unexpected places. If education were a remedy for this evil the Anglo-Saxons in this country, who claim to have reached the highest pinnacle in civilization, should be as free from prejudice as a jaybird is from wisdom teeth. With America's high percentage of literacy comes many of the prejudices and the superstitions of medieval days.

IT HASN'T BEEN so long ago the little band of Christian workers calling themselves the Salvation Army were hooted, stoned and jeered at by the hoodlum element, encouraged more or less by the signs of approval from the better class, while from the stage, the platform and the press came words of derision. Today their tormentors of yesterday are their friends and boosters. Patience, tolerance and forbearance brought this result. The Jews, driven from Russia and other countries, where persecution was rife, sought freedom here. Did they get it ? In most instances the hand of welcome is extended more for policy than for love. The jingle of coin has smothered many anti-Jewish flames.

IN ROASTING THE JEW to a frazzle, the editor of the Dearborn Independent—Henry Ford's mouthpiece—winds up with this query, "Who in this country is interfering with anyone's rights? The American wants to know, for that is the kind of thing he wants to put down, and always has put down, and will put down again wherever or from whatever quarter it arises." We refuse to take this editor seriously. We have too much respect for the profession to believe he believes what he wants us to believe. Happy thought, perhaps, when he says, "The American." He is not speaking collectively. By a wild stretch of imagination we could conceive of one American who by some hook or crook got isolated from his fellow man asking, "Who in this country is interfering with anyone's rights?"

AFTER THE JEWS have pointed out several million of so-called Americans who have interfered with their rights, "The American" can spend the balance of his life battling with added millions who are constantly interfering with our rights; "for that is the kind of a thing he wants to put down." Human beings are human beings the world over, some good, some bad. The whole race-hating business is poppycock of the most childish sort. Let the lowest and the highest trace their ancestry back far enough and they will find they came from the same stock that made the jungles their home. We find nowhere in the Good Book that the white race is to inherit the earth and be master of all they survey, and until we do we are going to jog along bowing not to supremacy as signalized by race, creed or color, but supremacy signalized solely by the character and general worth of the individual or set of individuals. We are living in the present, the medieval days are history.

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TRENTON N J TIMES
JUNE 24, 1921

## NEGRO SEGREGATION.

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir—In "Mountaineer's" letter, published the 21st inst., I am told that I had better go back to school. I admit the justice of the remark, because I have not yet learnt two things: Should an anonymous writer be classified as he, she or it? and, is an anonymous writer ashamed of his parentage or himself? Admitted that it is always the negro who suffers at riots, lynchings and burnings, this is not to the credit of the white man or nation.

I am well aware that neither the English nor the Germans are of the Asiatic race. I also know that the Negro is a true born American citizen, soldier and taxpayer, and must needs be segregated, and for why? It is not because of what our boys did "over there," not of anything mentioned in the Civil Rights Bill, but because a nameless writer "thinks it would be beneficial."

Let me inform "Mountaineer" that the Negro will never be segregated. He is here to stay, paying his share of his nation's indebtednes, ready to fight her battles and all [illegible] asks in return is a square deal and equal protection under the flag of his nation.

Has "Mountaineer" ever seen the Statue of Liberty and does he know what it stands for? Millions in Europe, Asia and Africa have seen it and understand it, and have gazed at it with love, admiration and respect. Shall it be destroyed or set aside as meaningless, just to oblige those of tiny mind?

BESSIE BROWN MENTION.
126 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J.

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Chicago Whip 4/30/21

# Freedom Of Speech Is Unheard Of In Birmingham, Ala.

Birmingham, Ala., April 30.—"Black negroes cannot talk to white women this side of the Mason and Dixon line, even if the white women are in jail," ruled Judge Henry J. Martin, recorder of police court, yesterday, when he fined Will Massengale, $50 and gave him a jail sentence of 90 days for talking to a white woman while she was being held in the city jail.

Wilmington Advocate 4/30/21

## NEGRO BOLSHEVIKI

We have been prone, as a race, to felicitate ourselves upon the fact that we have no Bolshevists, no anarchists, no traitors among our ranks. It is a stock phrase that rings sweetly upon the tongues of orators, and never fails of bringing down an avalanche of applause. In the main, it is true that we are a loyal race—to the country. But that there are no Bolshevists among us remains to be proven. There are such destroyers, and of the most subtle and pernicious kind, and they should be pitilessly exposed, and ruthlessly eliminated.

A Bolshevist is a destroyer. He is a hater of the rights of others. He dreads conservatism, order, law, decency. He thrives on destruction, upheaval. He hates, and his hate is a personal grudge based on envy, jealousy and bitterness that some one else has acquired property, position, respect where he has failed. He never builds up. He tears down, and he gloats when he has destroyed the work of years, and thrown confusion into the ranks of law-abiding citizens. He is usually stupid, for if he had real intelligence he would know that order is heaven's first law, and that it is futile to wreak destruction upon individuals in the hope of subverting the law of the universe. He plots and schemes and like "malicious Envy" in the Faerie Queene, rides

Upon a ravenous wolf, and still did chaw
Between his cankred teeth a venomous toad,
That all the poison ran about his jaw,
But inwardly he chawed his own maw
At neighbor's wealth that made him ever sad,
For death it was when any good he saw;
But when he heard of harm, he waxed wondrous glad.

Thus the Bolshevist. And we have many of them within our own ranks. They do not attempt to wreak harm upon the national government, except by indirection; their malice is spent upon their own community. They tear down the reputations of their own kind. They scheme to harm their own people. They wreak bitterness upon their own race, and keep it back, and nullify its possibilities of progress, merely in order to gratify personal envy, and desire for vengeance.

A Bolshevist is usually a stupid person, we have noted. A Negro Bolshevist is personified stupidity raised to the N'th power. He sees no further than his nose, and it is usually of the retrousse variety. He has a petty grievance. Some one has done something to him, and he is going to get back, if he has to wreck everything in sight. As a rule what has been "done" to him is the result of his own lack of character, and no more than his just deserts, and probably not half of what he should have had, and his attempts at vengeance may involve the destruction of the hopes and aspirations of his race, but that makes no difference. He must destroy, ruin, merely because his bump of vanity has been injured.

Thus the Negro Bolshevist. He is not always a male; when we say "he," we mean the term generically. The Bolshevist is too often a woman, in whom the fires of rage and envy have quelled all the gentler emotions which tradition says should dwell within her bosom. And the "female of the species is more deadly than the male." Particularly if she is fighting for love or ambition. Lady Macbeth would never have been the fiend that she is depicted, if it were not for the fact that she was fighting to give her spouse a place in the sun. Catherine, the peasant queen of the Russias, would never have been the implacable demon that she is painted if she had not been feverishly desirous of being regarded as the most wonderful woman of the age. Ingrowing ambition is a fearsome thing. In those of real mental acquirements it make for terrible fiends, whose path of progress is marked by Hun-like ferocity. In persons of a low order of mentality and negligible education it makes for Bolshevists.

Wilmington is cursed with Negro Bolsheviki. It is unfortunate that so small a community should be strained with so great a burden to carry. They will rule, or they will ruin. They will wreak vengeance on a whole community because they are not able to carry out their pet and petty ambitions. They will tear down the work of others, and set up discord and unharmony in its place. They will lie and cheat and steal, rage and sneer, plot and scheme, put forward nefarious projects, and hamper the work of the friends of the race merely in order to get even. They cannot see the direful consequences of their misdeeds, and in fact, do not care; it is enough that they make the point of the moment. They are like inexperienced card players, who play all the aces out of their hands at once, and leave nothing to finish the game at the end.

Too often these Bolshevists are transient dwellers in the city, whose schemes have failed elsewhere, and who fall back upon Wilmington, because it is kind and hospitable, and opens its arms to the stranger within its gates. Too often, having been accepted here, they work their schemes through those whom they are able to influence, whose minds are not keen, whose memories are short, and whose vision is clouded. Then, the damage, often irreparable, to the race having been done, they move on elsewhere.

Someone has aptly said it is a waste of time to battle with a skunk. No matter whether you win or lose the odor of the battle remains noisomely with you. The Negro Bolsheviki is most like this unfortunate little animal. The best thing the race can do with such creatures, male and female, is to spray them with the quicklime of awakened public opinion and exterminate them utterly.

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JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
MAY 3, 1921

## IN BEHALF OF THE NEGRO.

It requires considerable courage for anybody to take the Negro's part south of the Mason and Dixon line. It requires considerably more of that desirable attribute for an official south of the Mason and Dixon line, and whose political life depends on votes, to say a good word for the colored man. There can be but admiration, then, for Governor Dorsey, who has bluntly told his people in Georgia that lynching and other maltreatment of the Negro in that Commonwealth must stop, not only because such practices are inhuman, but also because investigation has shown that in a majority of the cases of lawlessness the Negroes were not the ones to blame. In discussing this phase of the situation, Governor Dorsey makes the significant statement that in only two of 135 cases cited is crime against white women involved.

Governor Dorsey, however, does not appear to be talking for applause, but, rather, is more concerned about wiping out the stigma which such outrages place upon the good name of his State, for, he says, "If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue, both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities. But worse than that condemnation would be the continued toleration of such cruelties in Georgia." Governor Dorsey might have gone still further to declare that the "disgrace and obloquy" which result from such practices fall not only upon the particular community in which they take place, but upon the whole nation as well.

What seems to be most necessary to the solution of the problem of the Negro is an understanding of his aspirations. What the great bulk of our Negro population is asking is merely equal opportunity. The majority of colored people do not desire "social equality." They do not favor inter-marrying with the white race, nor should there be any such practice. In dividing up the earth's population into races, the Almighty evidently intended that there should be certain lines of demarkation, and these lines will be kept intact. But what the Negro does want is a fair share of the profits from his own labor, a chance to educate himself and his children, an opportunity to make himself a better man and a better citizen. These are no more than the due of any human being.

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# SOLVING THE RACE PROBLEM

Competitor 7/21

It is a glowing sight to see the old chivalrous sentiment of the Southern people reassert itself in the recognition that the race problem can not be solved by mob-power, mind-power nor shame-power. It may only be solved by heart-power. White men everywhere are beginning to realize that what is sacred in their persons is sacred in the black man's also. They see the black giant stand in the labor market, piling the mound of wealth. They saw him stand in the storm of shells, and, looking down in the grave where the Legion's dead are mingled, they feel the surge of a strange thought—the black American, in the hour of glorious death, is at last "flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone!"

That thought, expanding, radiating, fructifying kindred thoughts, will solve the race problem slowly, perhaps, but as surely as the stars are in their courses. Even now we white men are looking closer at the story of the Negro, and see ourselves living afresh in the black American. We see him gropping amid those forms of development evolved by the white man through ages in the painful climb toward civilization. The brain of the Negro is growing like our brains grew; his powers enlarging like our powers; his wonder, his despair, were once our emotions. He is asked to learn in a few years what the white man has written in fifty centuries.

We are beginning to see that the Negro may only learn the white man's way through the white man's sympathy. All institutions are dumb until interpreted by kindness and will give no light to a new race until the altar of justice smiles with friendliness. We are beginning to see that as comrades in our dangers, as co-laborers bearing our burdens, as fellow-citizens sharing our opportunities, as friends in the kinship of understanding, we must tread the paths of trial and safety as fellow-Americans.—Editorial from Leslie's Weekly.

Race Problem — U. S. 1921.

## EVERY EVENING OBJECTS TO INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES

### Negro "Rights" Again.

Wilmington, Del. advocate — 1/15/21

It would be highly interesting if we could ascertain how Lincoln would have regarded the addresses delivered at the fifty-ninth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation held by the colored people here on Sunday last, could he have been an auditor at the celebration. Bishop Jones of Ohio, the chief speaker, commended the Negroes on their fighting record and warned them that wars are not yet over and that the blacks are still being mistreated and are likely to be called on to fight again.

This colored prelate from the Middle West, who may be classed as a militant, declared that Lincoln not only freed four million Negroes, but the proclamation freed the whites as well, "for sooner or later the Negroes would have risen in might, backed by right, and freed themselves."

Other defiant and inflammable talk came from Dr. Marion F. Sydes, of New England, who declared "the Negroes of Wilmington and Delaware could obtain justly what belongs to them by fighting every inch of the ground," and urged his hearers to stand by their old political friends, admonishing them that whenever the Republicans needed their votes to go to them.

It would seem that the Negroes missed the spirit of the occasion entirely and turned the celebration into a political meeting. The addresses show how grossly they misjudge conditions at this moment. There seems to be no likelihood of the blacks of this country rising in arms against the whites. The Negro himself—except professional stump speakers—recognize in the whites their best friends, but for whose aid and co-operation their progress and advancement would have been slow indeed. * * *

If the Negroes have such profound admiration for the Great Emancipator as they declare they have, they should study the precepts of his life and follow them, and cease this rash talk about going to war again to "secure their rights." —Every Evening.

The extracts above from the editorial of Every Evening suggest in some small measure the disgust felt by our friend and contemporary for the speeches at the Emancipation celebration. We can easily sympathize with the frame of mind which would condemn such speeches as inflammatory, but, as The Spectator said, "There are always two sides to every question." Often what is simple justice for the white man is Bolshevism for the Negro.

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# CITIZENSHIP OF THE NEGRO.

2—5—21 Savannah Journal.

A citizen, as defined by Mr. Webster, signifies a unit of a state or a nation—a freeman, vouchsafed the rights and immunities set forth in the organic law that governs the state or nation. Citizenship, then, is the status quo of an individual thus defined and protected by the statutes of a state or nation except to such as may be disqualified by limitations otherwise specified in the law.

The citizenship of the Negro, then, is in no wise different from the citizenship of the white man, the red man nor the yellow man as is represented by the Caucasian, the Indian and the Chinaman or the Jap. All of these including the Negro, if native born or naturalized, are subjected to and governed by the same laws and are named and styled citizens of the nation.

The Justician theory of law gave consonance to the idea of a common or general equality and Blackstone nuclesized this primal signification into a definition that has rounded out into an axiom. Neither the original theory nor the concrete definition contemplated anything other than that in its "general and most comprehensive sense, law signifies a rule of action and that it is applied indiscriminately to all kinds of action, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational." Or that "law in a more specific sense, signifies a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power of the state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." The conscience of the law, ther, is righteous and not racial. The derelictions, if any, are in the application of the law. The citizenship of the Negro in the nation, then, is as firmly established as that of any other class of American citizens and of a right should be as deeply recognized and as rigorously safeguarded.

This great nation recognizes, in part, the citizenship of the Negro as do the individual states. They assess against, levy upon and collect taxes from all classes, colors creeds and condition of citizens. The nation conscripts, in emergencies, for army and navy service, from all classes of her citizens. "Kinky locks and black complexion do not forfeit the nation's claim" for service, nor do they, as a whole, wipe out citations for patriotic service or bravery upon the battlefields. These distinctions do not exempt the Negro from punishment for crime committed, for color, like ignorance, is no excuse for infractions of the law. All of these citations go to establish the fact that the citizenship of the Negro, in the general and most comprehensive sense" is not dissimilar in the great nation to that of any class of citizenship of the nation.

The law of the land gives to its citizens the power of petition and appeal and protest. In the exercise of these rights, are Negroes proscribed, circumscribed or hindered? The"law applies, indiscriminately to all classes of beings." If it be a fact that the Negro is circumscribed, therein arises the discrepency between fact and law which should give rise to protest upon the part of the party of the second part. The most formidable vehicle or instrument of protest is the ballot and the opportunity, untrammelled to use it. And the ballot is the weapon of the poor man and the rich man alike and it of a right should be the weapon of the black man and the white man and there should be no restrictions except such as are set forth in the penal codes of the states and the nation. The citizenship of the Negro, then, if any of the rights of him as a freeman be abridged, is robbed of the legal contemplation and his status quo is thereby rendered poor, indeed. ,

But in spite of restrictions and the unequitable distribution of increments resulting from certain local or national activities of citizens and certain labors, based upon urgent needs, the Negro still, voluntarilly and involuntarilly, contributes a quota to the creation and maintenance of public utilities. If he be "smitten upon one cheek" by the monster, inequality of consideration, he turns the other to be branded by the same hand The citizenship of the Negro is based upon the universally accepted truth, "the father-hood of God and the b rother-hood of man" and upon the blood of the Christ as a cleansing lotion. The constant practices of this belief will finally establish a state wherein even justice will reign supreme and from which when men are summoned away from this sphere they will not tremble for fear of the rigor of the examination they will have to stand in the "Courthouse in the Skies."

The citizenship of the Negro. God grant that it may forever remain untarnished—that it may estop the possessor thereof from insurrecion on land or mutiny on the high seas. That we may never hail with delight nor sanction by acton the black flag of piracy nor the red rag of riot. But may we forever honor, revere, respect the glorious and historic Star Spangled Banner that is dear to the heart of every true American citizen for it like the law, must forever stand for "equal rights to all and special priviliges to none."

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MINNEAPOLIS MINN. JOURNAL
JANUARY 19, 1921

## New Tendencies Among the Negroes.

The old South is breaking up in more senses than one. Dr. Albert E. Jenks, the anthropological expert of the University, has recently pointed out four significant movements taking place among the colored people of this Country.

The first is that the Negro since the Civil War has become more and more a migrant. A million and more have left the South and taken up residence in Northern cities. In the wake of this movement come such race troubles as those that broke out in East St. Louis, Chicago and Duluth.

A second movement is the increasing tendency of the Negro to intermarry with certain white stocks. This amalgamation has been taking place for some time, but only of late has it become pronounced. In Eastern cities the Negro is intermarrying with those of South European origin. The effects of such racial mixtures are not yet known.

A third tendency is the increasing political influence of the colored element. A movement is already on foot for Negroes to elect their own representatives to Congress wherever possible. This effort to acquire greater political influence is advocated by some of their own leaders.

A fourth movement is toward segregation. This is taking place in at least three separate areas of the South. Negroes flourish better in some regions than whites, and not so well in others. In some parts of the South the whites are decreasing and the Negroes increasing at such a rate that the results must soon be reckoned with.

The first conclusion to which these tendencies point is that further Negro immigration from the West Indies and Africa should be stopped. The admission of six thousand colored aliens every year from these regions only complicates the problem of racial relations.

The second conclusion is that segregation is unwise. It has not advanced the colored people of Haiti or Liberia. Proper distribution seems to be the path toward the Negro's best development.

The third conclusion points to the necessity of getting exact data on questions of racial relations and intermixture so that problems arising therefrom may be intelligently handled.

CINCINNATI O TRIBUNE
JANUARY 23, 1921

# Georgia's Contrast in Race Problems.

In that perennial problem of the South having to do with race adjustment there has developed a peculiar situation in Georgia presenting quite a contrast of view and action. Northern Georgia is all in confusion—according to stories in the newspapers of the State—over movements in eviction of the negroes wholesale and without discrimination between good and bad. Threats of dire happenings that impend if there is not at once a clearing out of the colored citizenship are posted in conspicuous places. Naturally there is much perturbation among the people and it is not all confined to the blacks, for a large element of the whites are protesting vigorously the drastic proceeding.

While the authorities and the secret societies are contending over this phase of the case in this northern section, southern parts of the State are up in arms over attempts of Florida farmers to entice away their colored farm help. Instances are reported of the Georgia farmers catching the proselyting Floridans, sometimes by legal warrant and sometimes by force of arms, and in the latter cases flogging them vigorously. The equally indignant but more composed element, proceeding more leisurely but legally, are pushing criminal and civil prosecutions through the courts in endeavor to put a stop to this coaxing away of the colored people from the one State to the other.

Thus is furnished the contrast of north Georgia trying to run her negroes away while south Georgia is frantically contending against the exodus of her first aids to agriculture.

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# Ready to Rise and Destroy White Enemy in America, Moscow Notified.

## BARED BY WASHINGTON

N Y C HERALD
JANUARY 23, 1921

## Reports Show Lenine Quoting Keynes' Book in Support of Soviet Policies.

Another compilation of political news from the official Russian newspapers and the minutes of the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale, held in Petrograd and Moscow from July 19 to August 7, 1920, was issued yesterday by the Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State. It purports to set forth the salient debates, resolutions and speeches as reported in such journals as the Moscow *Izvestia*, the Moscow *Pravda* and Petrograd newspapers of the same name It quotes editorial matter and special articles from other inspired organs of Bolshevism—*Economic Life*, the *Village Commune*, the *Krasnaya Gazeta* and the *Communist International*—all Russian.

Therein Comrades Lenine, Trotzky, Radek, Bakharin, Zinoviev, and the rest of the more familiar spellbinders say nothing particularly new nor give hint of any great change in the general scheme to spread the reign of Russian Communism over the entire world. But the document sets forth briefly the zealous forensic efforts of the late John Reed, Alexander Stoklitsky, Louis Fraina, J. Jurgis and A. Bilan, officials of and delegates from the Communist party of America and the Communist Labor party of America, who assured the rest of the comrades that American labor had sent them and that they represented American labor. Reed, who died in Moscow two months ago, made a fervent plea for the negro and begged that the congress make it easy for the black man in America to enter the Communist fold. The negro, Reed assured the delegates, was about ready to destroy his white enemy. Furthermore, he liked America and had decided not to be herded back to Africa Therefore it followed that with the negro within the ranks of Communism America was about to fall into the Bolshevist lap.

### American Capitalists Assailed.

This was received with applause not much less vociferous than that which greeted Comrade Stoklitsky's "exposure" of the "yellow press" in America for its "uninterrupted stream of lies and insinuations" about the Communist party of America. Comrade Stoklitsky delivered that particular speech on July 3, and it was reported at some length in the Moscow *Investia*, the official organ of the Central Committee of Soviets. In the *Investia* of July 3, copies of which were sold to the delegates, the following ray of serene truth was shed that the minds of the Comrades might not be befogged with untruths:

"Now, we see that you begin to understand your own needs, and we therefore turn to you as representatives of the European proletariat, using our great experience in order to help you in your struggle for liberation. We tell you: The time when European and American capitalists were able to oppress you by the force of their arms has passed once and forever. Everywhere in Europe and America the workmen are revolting with arms in their hands against the capitalists and are carrying on a bloody struggle with them.

"French, British and American capitalists have tried by all means to defeat the Russian workman and peasant and to make them their slaves. They did not succeed. The Russian workmen and peasants have defended their power bravely, have formed their own army, and have defeated completely all reactionary armies supported by the Entente capitalists.

Workmen and peasants of the Near East! If you organize yourselves, if you form your workmen's and peasants' power, if you take up arms and unite with the Russian workmen's and peasants' army you will defeat the British, French and American capitalists, you will liberate yourselves from your oppressors, you will secure freedom, you will be able to form a free world's republic of working masses, and you will use the riches of your own land in your own interests and the interests of the world's proletariat, which will be glad to exchange your riches against their products and will be glad to send you their help. About all these questions we want to talk with you at this Congress."

This statement was signed by Zinoviev and K. Radek, respectively president and secretary of the executive committee of the Internationale.

The memorandum as issued by the State Department at Washington is divided into two distinct sections. The first is called "A Bolshevist Report on the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale." The second part comes under the heading of "The Bolshevist Interpretation of the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale." The first is a full translation of the report as it appeared in the Petrograd *Pravda*, and, in the words of the preface to the pamphlet issued yesterday, "not submitted as a truthful account of the events of this gathering, but as Bolshevist testimony." The second section is compiled from clippings from the newspapers and magazines cited above. The congress was attended by delegates from Germany, France, England, America, Italy, Austria, the Scandinavian States, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, China, India, Finland and Holland.

### Lenine a Busy Orator.

Sylvia Pankhurst was heard and applauded, but apparently she made little impression, for her suggestions were discarded. Lenine made hot speeches whenever trouble appeared, and once he mounted the rostrum with John M. Keynes's "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" in his hand and quoted therefrom financial statistics that warranted him in agreeing with the "great Bourgeois economist" that all war debts be annulled. The League of Nations, he declared, had failed and was no more. He unmercifully berated labor unions, saying that before the war England, France and Germany were in the habit of "tossing $500,000,000 to labor leaders annually in the form of various bribes." He felicitated his hearers that the French Colonial negroes had learned the art of modern warfare and firearms.

"This is exceedingly useful knowledge," he is quoted as saying, "and for it we convey to the bourgeoisie our deepest gratitude in the name of the workmen and peasants, and particularly in the name of the Red army. At the present moment the flag of Soviets beginning to be raised throughout the Orient, in Asia, and no dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence."

In various speeches by Russian leaders the I. W. W., called by them the American Industrialists, are patted on the back, but scolded for not being better politicians. Comrade Buckharin, for example chides the I. W. W. for believing that the general strike question is an industrial struggle rather than political.

The industrial situation in America worried Comrade Radek, and he owned up to it, saying that he found that 80 per cent. of the workers in America were not members of trade unions. It was the fault of the unions, he declared. Samuel Gompers was set down as the most reactionary man in the world. In the general excitement some one demanded that Fraina and Stoklitsky be ejected because they did not belong to the Reed faction of American Communism. Comrade Radek saved the day by showing that Fraina and Stoklitsky were within the rules, and so America did not have her representation cut down.

The Petrograd *Pravda* of July 21 made the following call upon workers to stand by the Soviet Republic:

"Workmen and workwomen! If the capitalist filth of the whole world cries out about the attack on the independence of Poland, in order to prepare a new attack against Russia, you should know the following and it alone: Your employers tremble, fearing that one of the pillars of their rule, of their world system of reaction, exploitation and oppression, is falling; they fear that if whiteguardist Poland falls before the blows of the Red army, and the Polish workmen take over power into their own hands, then it will be easier for the German, Austrian Italian and French workmen to free themselves from their exploiters, and that the workmen of England and America also will follow them. If the capitalist filth wails that danger threatens the independence of Poland, it is because they fear that your slavery, your involuntary servitude, workmen and workwomen, may be replaced by liberation from the chains of capitalist slavery."

### "Kings and Presidents" Tremble.

Headlines in the *Pravda* of July 18, and in the *Communist International* of July 19, read thus:

"Down with the yellow band of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who are the enemies of the World Revolutionary Alliance of Toilers."

"Disappear, bourgeois filth; the Third Internationale is coming."

"Down with government of capitalist brigands and rascals. Long live the World Alliance of Soviet Republics."

"Kings, bankers and Presidents will tremble with fear at all news of the new success of the Moscow Internationale."

Comrade Jurgis of the American delegation caused much cheering by gravely informing the delegates that American employers had cruelly informed the downtrodden workers that they'd have to agree to great reductions in wages or be "thrown out into the street into the army of unemployed to freeze and starve."

"Do not hurry, comrades," cried Jurgis. "At the present moment a whole million of former Russians would like to come back to Russia. Of every one hundred Russians in America ninety-nine wish to return to Russia."

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CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
FEBRUARY 9. 1921

# The Spreading Race Problem

From 1910 to 1920 the colored population of Alabama decreased 7.630. or eight-tenths of 1 per cent, while the white population increased 118,200, or 17.8 per cent. The drop in the colored population was due, of course, to the exodus of such large numbers to work in the industrial centers of the north.

Students of the subject are waiting impatiently for the figures which will show the relative growth of white and colored population throughout the country. But one judgment can be passed before these statistics are available. The race problem has ceased to be a narrow sectional one. It has become close to a national problem; it affects every industrial district east of the Missouri river, north and south alike, and it can be dealt with only by a nation-wide display of moderation, intelligence and good will.

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# MISSISSIPPI WHITES PROTEST.

## Don't Want College Used For Christian Education Of Negroes.

Times plain Dealer 3/5/2

Meridian, Miss., March 3.—Resolutions have been adopted by the white citizens of the College Heights suburb of Meridian protesting against the proposed sale of the Meridian College and Conservatory building and site to the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, for the purpose of converting the property into an institution for the Christian education of Negroes. The fight, it is understood, will be carried direct to the heads of the Methodist Church, North, for the reason that white citizens bitterly oppose the location of such Negro college in the community where they have purchased homes and where they are living with their families, believing that no good would come of the venture and that it would not receive such a welcome as would be necessary for its success.

The proposed sale of the Meridian College and Conservatory buildings and site does not mean the abolishment of this institution, considered to be one of the best of its size in the South, but that it will be continued at a location nearer the city in newer and more up-to-date buildings, such as would make it a more modern and useful institution of learning in every particular.

The outcome of the negotiations and the protest of citizens will be watched with interest, not only by the parties most directly concerned but by people throughout the state.

Race Problem — 1921
United States.

# Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and His White Bosses! Not Criticism and Apology but Truth Based on Facts

The N.Y. Dispatch 10/14/21

By PROF. D. E. TOBIAS

"Deliver me, O Lord, from mine enemies: I flee unto Thee to hide me. Teach me to do Thy will; for thou art my God: Thy Spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness."

**Psalm 143,** Verses 9 and 10. **A Psalm of David.**

Psalm means a **sacred song!** David was a great composer of Scriptural **psalms or songs.** In this song of David, Psalm 143, we learn (from an effort to make ourselves feel as David felt) that it is well to go to God in prayer if we wish **wisdom** to guide us and judgment to direct our footsteps when we undertake **a task** which calls for courage, ability and understanding! These attributes, or shall we say human qualities, are not only necessary but must be possessed by any one, man or woman, who is to be the **leader** of the people. These gifts come from God and cannot be given by man. They are inherent (existing inseparably in man; innate, inborn) and cannot be taught and **instilled** from without! In the psalm above quoted, David prayed to God for favor in judgment, that is to say, David wanted God to show him specially what God would have him to do. David complained about his personal griefs and sorrows because he, David, felt his own weakness and **inability** to do the great work which he felt called on to do. David strengthened his faith by **meditation** and **prayer** to God for grace to bear the burden of his people. Whether this be **mythical** or real, it reveals the inner soul of all great men in the past who were the real leaders of the people. **Mythology** means: "The collected body or system of the traditions or legends of a people in which are embodied their beliefs concerning their origin, gods and heroes." The Bible contains records of what the ancients thought and believed about God and the faith and confidence they placed in God. Men in all ages have drawn inspiration from those who preceded them. Wtihout **inspiration** civilization would have perished from the face of the earth millions of years ago. To civilize means, here, to reclaim from a savage state; and savage means "a wild, cruel, fierce human being." Changing from one state of human society to another means a new form of civilization, and that is about all! To be civilized is only relative, after all, and depends largely upon the **idea** of the age in which people live. What may be called **Western Civilization** (the white man's notion of human society), is based upon **The Bible**. We must therefore accept **The Bible** as the **standard** book by which to be guided. **Great Leaders** of **ancient** times prayed to God first, to deliver them from **their enemies** and then asked **Him** to teach them what to do and how to do it. All true leaders of the people in the past asked God to be their guide. Frederick Douglass was the only **real leader** peoples of African blood and descent have ever had in the United States of America. In **The Life and Times** of Frederick Douglass, we find that same spirit in him as was revealed in David, according to Psalm 143. Like the great men of old, who were **inspired** by God and became leaders of the people, Frederick Douglass prayed to God for wisdom, judgment and understanding that he might know how to lead and the real purpose of his **Leadership!** Douglass tells us that when his soul was converted he **then loved all mankind,** even slaveholders, but that he abhorred the cruel institution of human slavery all the more. Frederick Douglass crossed over **the Mason and Dixon Line** from the South to the North, which meant going from bondage to freedom, and from that time on down to the day of his death, at Washington, D. C., the capital of this nation, the **Leadership** of peoples of African blood and descent was not only in the North, but the **Leader** of these peoples was a **Brown Skin Man! We must get back to the time of Frederick Douglass from 1836 to 1895, when his mighty soul was on fire and the great man lived for the TRUTH and fought unceasingly for a much wronged and grealy abused people. Like David, Frederick Douglass was led by the spirit of God "into the land of uprightness." To be upright means to be truthful in what you say and honest in what you do. THAT, as a leader of his people in the North, Frederick Douglass was. Frederick Douglass was the only real leader we have thus far had. Who will take up the burden and follow in his footsteps?**

General Armstrong, a white man, who believed in the theory of the natural superiority of the white man over the black man, taught young Booker T. Washington, at Hampton Industrial Institute, in the State of Virginia, to teach young colored men and women, boys and girls, **not to aspire** to be great, but to be humble; not to be learned, but to be industrious; not to be ambitious, but to be useful as **menials!** Not to use their brains, but to use their hands! **Menial** means: "A domestic servant; one who performs servile work." **Man and not God had to do with making Dr. Booker T. Washington, the Leader of the people of African blood and descent** in the United States of America, after the emancipation of the slaves and the establishing of schools for a special sort of **education** of the **FREED BUT NOT FREE** people.

## SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG.

This man is known in history as an American soldier, philanthropist and educator. What are some real facts about General Armstrong? He was the son of American missionaries and was born in Mauii, one of the Hawaiian Islands. The Armstrongs were English by descent, at least. By this I mean that their common ancestors were either English, Scotch or Irish. In tracing the record of the Armstrongs not much is to be found about American Armstrongs. In England and Scotland, the Armstrongs figured in history, though not always in the most noble way. They were not of **Royal Blood,** although some of them were close to Royalty. The Armstrongs believed in **nobility** of blood and high station in life. They believed that certain men were born to rule and that it was God's **own decree** that the great masses of the people should render **menial** service to the high and noble and be perfectly satisfied with their lot in life, however hard that might be. **Decree** means: "An ordinance, law, or edict; a judicial decision; the predetermined purpose of God." In England to-day there are still men and women who believe that God decreed that certain white men and women are naturally superior to the great masses of white people. That is to say, there are men and women in England who **cling** to the **obsolete** (gone out of date; imperfectly developed) ideas and beliefs, that the **English Nobility** are superior to the great masses of the English people at home. Scotchmen, especially believe in the theory of English superiority over all other peoples of the world. The theory of the **Divine Right of Kings** is an Anglo-Scotch theory. The Armstrongs believed most strongly in this absurd (contrary to reason or sense; ridiculous) theory of natural human superiority. Going out from England, with the idea that **superiority** of class is a decree from God, it is easy to understand how, when English and Scotch people get abroad, especially among dark-skin peoples, acting as their teachers and **civilizers,** they would feel that the whites are **naturally** superior to those dark, brown or black skin peoples whom God sent the superior to civilize and Christianize? To civilize here means, to the missionary, at least, "to reclaim the dark skin from a savage state; instruct in the arts and refinements of civilized

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# Curfew Order Fails In Miami

Baltimore Afro-American 12/9/21

Miami, Fla., Dec. 1.—All stores, fruit stands, dances, receptions and other activities among colored people were ordered to stop at midnight, according to police regulations first promulgated two months ago.

C. M. Sands refused to close his place of business, in order to make a test case. He was arrested, but freed as soon as he employed an attorney. Other colored places of business are now running the full swing.

life." **White Missionaries,** among the darker skin peoples of the earth, believe that they are the natural superiors to those whom they go to teach, civilize and Christianize!

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the American soldier, philanthropist educator, came into the world under most **unfavorable** condi ns and circumstances, for the work which, in life, he undertook do. **Herein** lies the **mystery** of Dr. Booker T. Washington's great misfortune! General Armstrong, his benefactor (one who confers a benefit) was himself born and reared under unfortunate circumstances. Samuel Chapman Armstrong was born of parents who were missionaries among a dark-skin people. They believed that they were the **natural superiors** of these people. By the laws of **inheritance,** young Armstrong started out wrong! Added to this, he himself was born on an island. In the very beginning of this boyhood he was greatly hindered. Hinder means "to obstruct or impede; to impose obstructions or impediments." All island people are more or less narrow and contracted in their views. This is due wholly to natural conditions over which they had no control. Being the son of missionaries, holding English views of natural **superiority,** the boy, Samuel Armstrong, could not help himself. His early education was acquired on an island. He came to the United States to be educated, after his mind was pretty well developed. Young Armstrong attended and graduated from Williams College, in Williamstown, Mass. This was after the great American Civil War, to free the African slaves, broke out! Young Armstrong entered the Union Army in 1862 as a volunteer. He served in the Army from 1862 to 1865. He rose to the rank of **Brigadier-General,** in December, 1863. He acted as one of the officers of **the colored troops** commanded by General William Birney. In this capacity young Armstrong was first brought into close contact with men of African blood in the United States. Young Armstrong was honorably mustered out of the Army in November, 1865. In March, 1866, young Armstrong was appointed Superintendent of the North District, in the State of Virginia, under the direction of the Freeman's Bureau. This was probably because he was the son of missionaries among dark-skin peoples in the Hawaiian Islands!

**After the close of the Civil War, and the emancipation of the slaves, General Armstrong decided that the correct and proper thing to do for the freemen was to teach them to be moral and industrious!!!** Hampton Industrial Institute was founded upon that theory. Teach peoples of African blood and descent to be moral and industrious! **The American Missionary Association** backed General Armstrong in his work and efforts at Hampton to teach colored young men and women their places in American civilization and society.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

To know and understand this man, read the story of his life, by himself: **UP FROM SLAVERY!** Dr. Washington gives his own views to his readers. Who taught him? (General Armstrong) and what he thought of his teacher! General Armstrong taught Dr. Washington that white people are the natural superiors of colored people? Dr. Washington not only believed that, but he wrote it in his book, **"Up From Slavery."** Dr. Washington told colored men to get out of politics and keep out. General Armstrong taught Dr. ever white men wanted them to render **menial services!** That, Dr. Washington taught colored people. As the teacher was, so the pupil was. General Armstrong was the teacher; Dr. Washington was the pupil! Pupil: "A young person who is under the care of a tutor; scholar; ward." General Armstrong was Dr. Washington's tutor; Dr. Washington was General Armstrong's scholar and ward. General Armstrong made Dr. Washington what he was. The American Missionary Association was the benefactor of both General Armstrong and Dr. Washington! It is responsible for these men. What they were and what they were not!

Frederick Douglass **created Leadership** for colored people in the North. General Armstrong created **Leadership** for colored people in the South, after the Civil War and the Emancipation of the slaves. **As the teacher was, so the pupil was.** Dr. Washington followed Gen. Armstrong!

## COLORED LEADERSHIP MUST COME BACK NORTH—REST ON THE VOTE!!!

Not only must the **Leadership** of people of African blood and descent come back North, but it must **rest on the vote;** which means **freedom and citizenship.** Citizens vote; serfs obey! Men and women of African blood and descent in the North are citizens. In the South they are serfs! Can serfs rule citizens? Not much! Our brethren in the South are in political bondage! We in the North and West (free States) must fight the battles for our **oppressed** kindred! Those who are like us in nature and character. The real **Leader** North, must be a **Black or Brown Skin Man or Woman!** That person must be courageous and possessed with ability. **After all, "color" must not count!** If an **Almost** white person, man or woman, of African blood and descent, possesses these qualities, then let that man or woman come forward. But he or she must be **Inspired!!!** Unless God inspires, man cannot instruct a **Leader** who will ring true and go straight. **Inspiration,** and not **Instruction,** fits one for real **Leadership.**

## DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS AND HIS WHITE BOSSES!

According to the printed records, this man was born in Great Barrington, in the State of Massachusetts. He was trained in the common schools there. From his own written words, **"THE SOUL OF BLACK FOLK."** "Color" prejudice first **dawned** on him when the school children had their personal cards printed and a tall, gaunt white girl refused to exchange cards with him!!! Young Du Bois thought this was because his skin was dark! From that time on, he has thought that he was and still is behind a veil!? Veil: "To cover or hide; to conceal!" Dr. Du Bois vainly imagines that if his skin was white he would not only be happy but a great man? This is far from the **TRUTH!!!** Dr. Du Bois, according to his writings, is a man of only **mediocre** ability. This word means "ordinary." After finishing his studies in the Grammar School, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, young Du Bois was sent to Fisk University, at Nashville, Tenn. Dr. Du Bois was, after all, trained in the South. He is a Southerner. The American Missionary Association furnished money to Fisk University for the education of young colored men and women along the lines of what is called **higher education,** just as it furnished money to Hampton Industrial Institute for the industrial training and education of young colored men and women! Dr. Booker T. Washington and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois were both educated from **Charity!** They had something given to them for which they were both always personally grateful, and for which they both personally thanked white people. These men were not ingrates in the sense that they did not highly appreciate the charity which white people bestowed upon them! That is great and much to be praised. But, now, this is what must be most carefully considered: Were these men capable of becoming the real leaders of colored people against white people, inasmuch as they were the wards (persons entrusted to the care of guardians, those who care for them) of white people? **Not much!**

Dr. Du Bois has been trained to be thankful to white people for kindness received, simply because their skin was white. Dr. Du Bois believes white men and women must be the **bosses** of persons of African blood and descent, and the lighter the skin the more superior is the person with the white skin! Dr. Du Bois, like Dr. Washington, has always believed in the **superiority** of **Whites over Blacks!** This is not a criticism, but a hard, cold statement of facts. Articles published in THE DISPATCH are based on facts. I am **not** against the "color" of the human skin, but I am for making the Truth known. I desire to be understood. I have no apology to make. I am not criticising, but telling the Truth based upon facts. "Color" prejudice is on the increase and Miss Mary White Ovington's **Business Movement,** called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is responsible! To be frank: Do the white men and women at the head of this movement desire to advance colored people, or do they intend to exploit them? That's the vital question, and that is the point! I now wish to go on public record in stating that I am in position to **prove** that The National Association **draws the "color" line and exploits** the black, brown and dark skin peoples of African blood and descent for the benefit of the **Real White** and the **Almost White** colored men and women who are directly connected with the Mary White Ovington—John E. Milholland—J. E. Spingarn Movement called The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People!

I firmly believe that this movement intends to establish, in Harlem, a so-called **COLORED BANK,** which will **exploit** colored people. Colored men and women who live south of the Mason and Dixon Line will **join** with white **Social Uplifters** and so-called Advancement of Colored People, white men and women in New York City, to **exploit** colored people, through a so-called **COLORED BANK!** Harlem needs help, but it will never come through, and by white, so-called friends, of colored people, working hand in hand with colored, so-called reformers. Editor Fred R. Moore is with white men and women who desire to lead colored people, educationally, financially and especially politically! **Will THE NEW YORK AGE publish facts about 5-cent carfares, low gas, telephone and water rates before election? Will Editor Moore get on record for once by standing for colored people? You want to be the leader, then lead straight! Leadership of colored people must be changed from the South to the North. Will the AGE help?**

Race Problem—1921.
United States.

# AMERICA WILL COME INTO HER OWN, SAYS JUDGE, WHEN MEN CEASE TO USE TERMS "NIGGER" AND "DACO"

## Calls for the Sweeping Away of Every Line of Demarcation and Prejudice at Gathering of Westfield Baptist Association

The Norfolk Journal & Guide
10/15/21

Springfield, Mass.—"When men cease to call each other 'chink,' 'dago,' 'nigger' and "sheeney' and every line of demarcation is swept away, and all servants of God are known as brethren, America will come into its salvation," said Judge John Hildreth of Holyoke this morning at the opening of the 111th annual meeting of the Westfield Baptist association held in the First Baptist church, Chicopee Falls.

Judge Hildreth has earned a reputation for legal acumen, and to it may be added the laurels of an eloquent speaker.

People who make the present life the only aim of living make a big mistake, said Judge Hildreth. The time will come, he pointed out, probably in the time of some of the present generation, when the true brotherhood of man would be accomplished with the elimination of prejudice and personal interest.

He told the story of the man who took a visitor to the top of his new building and said that on Sundays the cathedral in the valley could be seen. "Why on Sunday?" the guest was asked. "Then the smoke of the busy plants does not hide it," was the answer. This story, he said, is comparable to the time when prejudice which separates man from many will have passed and the house of God will be clearly seen.

### LAX CODE OF MANY BUSINESS MEN BLAMED FOR DEPRESSION

The convention opened with a devotional period by Rev. J. A. Jones, C. F., and the "keynote sermon" was preached by Rev. J. F. Watts. Mr. Watts blamed the lax code of many business men for the industrial depression. Their word was not as good as their bond and even their bonds were worthless for they canceled contracts, he said.

A welcome to new leaders in the association was then extended by Rev. Dr. E. M. Lake and L. L. Campbell, the latter for the laymen. A talk on "What We Bring to the Westfield Association" was given by Rev. A. R. Diltz. Lunch was served by the women of the parish preceding the opening of the conference. One of the principal afternoon speakers was Rev. Dr. Neil McPherson of Springfield.

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## Secret Movement Now on Foot in Cities Where Discrimination Rules

Chicago Defender
11/12/21

The following letter, which arrived at the office of the Defender late last week, speaks volumes. Prefacing a brief comment upon the same, we publish it verbatim:

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 20, 1921.

To Chicago Defender: I am writing this letter to inform you that a new organization of young men is being formed, the purpose of which is to secure a modification of certain laws which are in effect in the South, through which our people are discriminated against on street cars, railroad trains, steamboats and other common carriers. In many communities a large membership is indicated by the unusual interest the idea is causing among those who have been approached and we are assured that when the time comes for the circulation of our propaganda those responsible for the making and maintaining of the obnoxious legislation mentioned will be made to realize that any failure upon their part to use their several influences along the line of reform, will prove a serious matter in more ways than one.

We, of course, realize the fact that whatever action our new organization shall take must be confined, first, to an appeal to the fairness, if there is such a thing, of those who are in positions to aid our cause, and second, to direct action upon the part of ourselves. It is not meant by this to force the issue by physical activity in the full meaning of the word, but by exercising our rights to refuse to support, either financially or with our labor, any section allowing the rotten sort of laws mentioned to be put into effect. This, of course, will mean the migration from these parts of those who are no longer willing to stand for the enforcement of degrading and damnably unfair laws in which we as American citizens, had no voice in forming.

These "Jim Crow" laws are a disgrace to modern civilization. Th time has come when something asid from passiveness must be shown. Any Race man with a drop of re blood flowing through his veins must feel the nauseating humiliation of the situation. Prejudice is bad enough, and when it is dished out to us coupled with the segregation idea it is hell itself and is beyond all human bearing. There are probably 4,000,000 of our people who will make ready within the next 18 months to shake the dust of the South from their feet. It will no doubt be hard to make the break for a sentimental few, inasmuch as the bones of their fathers rest beneath the soil lying south of the "line of tolerance." It would be better, however, to let that fact remain a memory than to stand further or present conditions. The hate which our people feel against the injustices practiced against us is second only to that which is taught the children of our oppressors from the time that they are weaned, against us. This degrading legislation is the cause of practically all the crimes committed with our people upon the receiving end, for where the laws degrade a class respect for that class is dead. It makes the condition which makes the white man immune against prosecution when we are [illegible] victims; it fixes the situation which places even murder and the rape and seduction of our women within the zone of safety.

So the time will soon be here when something will have to be done. The ordinary Southern white man is a shiftless, lazy lout—a barnacle and parasite dependent upon the labor of the Race which alone is responsible for what little prosperity he enjoys—but it will soon end. You may publish this letter if you wish, but for my personal safety I will ask you to refrain from publishing my name. God bless you.

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The readers of the Defender should know that the above is but one of a great number of letters which have arrived apprising us of the new movement mentioned. It is not surprising that a concerted protest is about to be made against the rotten "Jim Crow" ideas which prevail below the Mason-Dixon line. The fact that the Western coast is a fertile field for those who will head out of the "bad lands" should not be overlooked. There is room all the way from Southern California to the Canadian border and the industrial conditions are fine. The laws of the South show that we are not wanted there, so why not move? We will never be able to do so any younger. Come out.

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# CHANGED SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The New York Times

## PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

By Frank P. Glass, Birmingham, Alabama.

1/4/21

Socially and economically the South of history and of popular conception has almost ceased to exist. Politically it is changing daily. The almost feudal state of society is but a pleasant memory, and new blood has modified the old ideals of society into a more homogeneous state. Economically those States lying south of the Mason and Dixon line, at one time the most distinctive division any nation ever knew, are a new world, a world that is growing in wealth and economic power every day. The basic idea of Southern democracy, the inherent sovereign right of the individual States of the Union, is making way for the strange political gods of reform. Prohibition has almost wiped out the rock-ribbed strength of the Solid South, the South which voted as a unit in all national affairs.

Where once the big plantation manor house stood in the midst of broad fields of cotton is now the mill, weaving the cotton fibre into garments for the small farmers who till by acres where, in the old days, the landed gentry cultivated thousands. The few acres of corn that fed the farm animals and kept alive the little water-mill which ground meal for the plantation hands and the peculiar corn breads of the gentry, have grown into tens of thousands. The corn is feeding the nation through the herds of cattle grazing in its pastures.

These cattle mean much to the South, which is fundamentally an agricultural section. Climatic conditions adapt its rich soils to almost continual cultivation, crop succeeding crop, and by cattle the Southern farmer is being lured away from the famed, or probably better the fabled, Eldorado of cotton, which for so many years held him back.

### FARMERS' IMPROVED CONDITIONS.

In every State, in every county, there is a continual education of the farmer going on. And this campaign of enlightenment is showing greater results with every crop season. The poor whites of the agricultural districts are disappearing, a social change of necessity following close upon the heels of the economic. Illiteracy in the hill districts is making way for sound common school education in the three R's and a foundation in manual training and primary soil chemistry, which is making a happier people, a broader and more enlightened people, and, in turn, a sounder political judgment through well-fed bodies and more satisfied minds.

The farmer no longer hauls his produce to market through mired roads in shiftlessly mended wagons. It goes over metalled roads in motor trucks. The smaller hamlets have their grange societies, where truck and produce, cotton, hay, grain, and fruit move in cooperative carload lots, instead of spoiling in ramshackle sheds awaiting the casual buyer. Highway construction is spreading economic independence throughout the most scattered sections of the South, an area tremendous in size and little appreciated even in the United States. Georgia and Florida, just two of the Southern States, are the largest east of the Mississippi River, and enclose within their combined boundaries more than 117,000 square miles. Yet their combined population is less than that of London.

This is but a short sketch of the foundation of the South—its agriculture. And on this foundation are based its cities, centres of industry manufacturing supplies for the ships that lie in the Southern ports waiting to carry material over the Seven Seas. Ten major ports in a section where crop values in basic items of cotton, corn, oats, and wheat exceed the values of all the crops of all the remainder of the United States, give a quick outlet to the sea for these crops. Added to these food and cloth stuffs are billions of tons of coal and iron; great deposits of copper, zinc, and lead; silver and gold mines; hundreds of square miles of phosphate beds; mica; nickel; ferromanganese; oil; aluminium and other wealth of the earth.

### INDUSTRIES OF BIRMINGHAM.

In the geographical centre of this wealth of soil and mine and well is Birmingham, the industrial capital of the South. At its doors are 1,500,000,000 tons of iron ore, billions of tons of coal (1,000,000,000 of which is good coking coal), unlimited supplies of fluxing materials, and hundreds of thousands of horse power of hydro-electricity. The result is the lowest cost-producing centre of iron and steel in America, and perhaps in the world.

Birmingham is the new South. The gentleman of the plantation no longer rides his blooded mare to inspect blooming fields, but his son directs his factory, or his mine, from handsomely appointed offices in a towering building of concrete, steel, and stone. His daughter no longer sees that the servants of the household can weave and sew, but buys her ginghams from enormous department stores, which, in turn, have purchased from a mill within a mile of the heart of Birmingham.

Nor has this change destroyed the social joys of life in the South. It has diverted them to other channels. There is still riding to hounds, but the golf course claims more attention. The minuet is no longer danced statelily in delightful homes, but the modern jazz is modified as much as possible and still keeps step with the modern stepdaughter of Terpsichore. These are lighter views to season the volume of statistics that must be given to portray Birmingham as it stands in a valley 25 miles long and four miles wide at its greatest measurement. And Birmingham occupies practically all of this area: a town with 180,000 persons, and whose immediate limits of trade encircle a population of 598,000.

### IRON AND STEEL.

Through its iron and coal and steel it is that Birmingham is best known to the world. From its plants the manufactured metal and from its mines its coal are shipped out through New Orleans, Galveston, Charleston, Wilmington, Savannah, Jacksonville, Tampa, Mobile, Brunswick, and Pensacola. Outlet to these ports is supplied by railroads, trunk lines all. In addition there is a waterway to Mobile, Pensacola, and New Orleans. Steel self-propelled barges are now carrying thousands of tons of goods down the Warrior River to Mobile Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, and the traffic grows monthly. For years Birmingham goods were shipped *via* Northern ports on account of disparity in railroad rates. But within the last few years the Federal Government has corrected this, and the Southern ports are coming into their own. They now compete with Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, with **Norfolk, Va., a Southern port ranking second on** the Atlantic seaboard to New York alone.

This equalizing of rail-ocean transportation has meant much to the development of the South, where there is in the white population the greatest preponderance of the pure Anglo-Saxon in any section of the country. The tide of immigration is dissipated before it reaches Southern borders.

The war played its part in Southern development, introducing an entirely new industry—ship construction. Scores of shipyards for constructing steel vessels are scattered throughout the Southern ports, and more than 1,000,000 tons of steel have been consumed in Southern yards.

And this leads back to Birmingham, whence comes more than 90 per cent. of the entire steel production of the South. There is an annual production of crude and semi-finished steel of 1,300,000 tons. Projected plant capacity will bring the annual total to 2,000,000 tons.

Birmingham is only 50 years old. It celebrates its semi-centenary this year. There are 27 iron furnaces in the district, with an annual output of 2,400,000 tons. The annual coke production from by-product ovens is 4,344,000 tons, 10 per cent. of the entire output of the United States. The volume of coal tar, benzol, and the other coal products from these same ovens is growing continually.

The annual coal output of the district is 20,600,000 tons. There are 3,500,000 barrels of Portland cement produced annually. It is the largest brick-producing centre in the South. There are more than 500 separate articles manufactured in Birmingham. Their tota valuation is estimated at $300,000,000 per annum. Birmingham is a lumber centre of no mean importance. The only peculiarly Southern article of commerce not represented is tobacco. But Birmingham and Jefferson County, of which it is the capital, can feed and clothe and house themselves without aid from othe sources. Their ore-bearing hills encircl a minor, yet complete, empire.

### THE NEGRO.

This is but a sketch of the economi side of the South and its industrial capita. It cannot be dismissed without som reference to the Negro, who represent to the South not a social but an economi problem.

Economically the Negro is growing les of a problem. He is being trained as scientific farmer; he is becoming a skille artisan and less and less a commo labourer. He is reaching out for fu political citizenship, and where he prove worthy he is being given it. For exampl (and this will no doubt prove difficul for a people not thoroughly familiar with conditions as they exist to understand), within the last year 500 Negroes have been qualified to vote in the primaries, by which nominees for public office are chosen; and in Birmingham this really means election, owing to the one-party system. Less than two decades ago this tolerance would have been undreamed of.

The Negro is being led by his own people, men of vision who grew up in the South realize conditions and meet them. The result is a further cementing of the amicable terms which have always held between the whites and blacks of the South since, and including, the days of slavery. For a while before the United States entered the war there was an exodus of Negroes to the industrial fields of the North, where enormous wages lured them. After a few short months these Negroes have been returning to their old homes, until practically all are back, realizing that the relation between whites and blacks in the South is established on a sound basis.

### POLITICS AND SOCIAL GROWTH.

Politics in the South is intensely national and local. The international political conscience has been too recently awakened to be analysed or discussed thoroughly. If prohibition has swept away many of the old political ideals, many of them still remain; and one is that there shall be no political machine controlling the destinies of the Southern States. And there are no such machines swaying State Government. There are local "bosses," as the term is used in the United States, but their power is limited and is curbed whenever it shows signs of encroachment on political independence of thought or action.

Socially, in the broader sense, the South recognizes its duty. It is striving to wipe out illiteracy. There is no poverty in the strict sense of the word. City, state, and county hospitals and free clinics, with visiting nurses and surgeons, take care of the sick of every large community. Social welfare is organized for maximum efficiency. The South has always been noted for the culture of its dominating class. For years its institutions of higher learning have been ranked among the greatest in America. And its public school systems are being improved constantly, particularly those of the rural districts where they are most needed.

In Birmingham the public school system is considered one of the finest in the United States. Not only has the State of Alabama levied a special school tax, but the city has voted another to keep the schools at the peak of efficiency.

There are two colleges for girls and two for boys within the limits of the city. Birmingham is typical of the new South. The birth and breeding of the old Southern families show in its daily life, the more energetic blood of the North quickens its industries, and the national spirit of fellowship makes it typically American.

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## WAS WASHINGTON WRONG.

New York Age 12/31/21

There appears to be a disposition on the part of a few of our race papers to charge the responsibility for the theory that the race problem is to be settled by segregation to the influence of the late Booker T. Washington. Among the papers which take this view of the matter are the Richmond *Planet* and the St. Paul *Appeal*. The latter paper goes so far as to say:

> No single thing in the United States has done so much to prevent the full attainment of citizenship as that speech of Booker Washington delivered in Atlanta, Ga., in 1895.

This is going a long way back to place the responsibility for the conditions which now confront the race in this country. But the editor of the *Appeal* goes on further to say:

> Since then the descent to hell has been swift and sure and the depths were sounded when theother day, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, stood by the side of the Grady monument in Atlanta, pronounced a eulogy of Henry W. Grady, the most bitter, dangerous and insidious enemy of the colored people that the country has produced, declared that the race question must be settled by the segregation of American citizens.
>
> Lured on by the enthusiastic reception by the South of the B. Washington speech and the white man's "good Negro" pat on the shoulder, the jim-crow leaders' tribe has increased so enormously that it is now a menace to be reckoned with in every community in which there are a hundred colored men.

Now, let us see what Dr. Washington actually said at Atlanta, and if it will bear the construction that these critics put upon it so many years after his death. We give a few extracts:

> "One-third o fthe population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. * * *
>
> "To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with their next-door neighbor, I would say: 'Cast down your bucket where you are'—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. * * *
>
> "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hands in all things essential to mutual progress. * * *
>
> "There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let those efforts be turned into stimulating encouragement, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. * * *

It must be remembered that Doctor Washington's mission was to build up the manhood of the race in the South by providing the opportunity for education and the training of the rising generation in useful trades and occupations, in which they could earn an honest livelihood, and thus be in a position to establish a healthy home and family life. In order to do this he had to disarm the opposition of the Southern whites and secure their acquiescence in his efforts, if not their genuine support.

Economic opportunity and eventually equality was the point at which he was aiming, and in order to reach this goal he was obliged to subordinate all other issues. But it is not to be admitted that he was wililng to surrender, or in fact did surrender, the other important claims of the race to political equality and the full enjoyment of citizen rights. Economic independence, with the best education attainable, was the first step in the slow but steady progress that he had outlined for the race.

It is due to the memory of Dr. Washington that his position as a consistent and outspoken opponent of lynch law and other forms of injustice before the law should be recognized and emphasized. He furnished the funds to test the legality of the "grandfather clause" by which the Negroes of Alabama had been disfranchised, and carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, where it was dismissed on a technicality. Undeterred by this setback, he offered to cooperate with others of the race in a further effort to enforce the right to the franchise.

While Dr. Washington's policy in race matters was undoubedly dictated by the prospect of achieving the greatest good for the greatest number, it must be admitted that his purpose was not to drag down but to raise up those crushed in the mire to the fullest attainment of citizenship.

The measure of good that he was able to accomplish under the most discouraging conditions is shown in the number of small communities scattered over the South, where the spirit of Tuskegee has manifested itself in a higher scale of living and thinking.

Let these belated crics of Washington go back and read his Atlanta speech with better understanding, and then look at the monument he has left at Tuskegee and in its graduates all over the South, and they will repent their half-baked criticisms.

Race Problem - 1921.

United States.

# Economic Phases of America's Color Problem

N Y C CALL
OCTOBER 9, 1921

### By HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

MOST human problems at present seem to have their origins in the possession, or the desire to possess, the power which is money. This is no less true of the so-called color problem in the United States than it was in slavery days. About the simple desire to exploit human beings for profit, however, has grown a social and political complex which seems to many observers to be impelling our society toward catastrophe. Two warnings of the danger have already come to Americans in 1921; one in the form of an extraordinary pamphlet published by the Governor of Georgia, another in the color riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma, in June.

**The first warning, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's "The Negro in Georgia," is nothing more than a bare statement of appalling facts. It was published in April of 1921, shortly after the world had learned that 11 Negro peons had been murdered on a farm in Jasper County, Georgia, and that the murders had been planned and executed to obliterate evidence sought by Federal agents of the practice of peonage, or debt slavery. "In some counties," Governor Dorsey's report said, "the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others he is being held as a slave. In others, no Negroes remain." There followed a recital of 135 examples of mistreatment of Negroes, only two of them involving the "usual crime" against a white woman, practically all of them unpunished—a** list which, as is stated, might have been multiplied had additional cases been sought.

The report tells of Negroes lynched—hanged, burned and tortured over a "slow" fire, riddled with bullets—for any or no apparent cause. One Negro was brutally assaulted—his daughters with him being also kicked and beaten—thrown in jail, fined, imprisoned, and his family forced to flee, leaving behind them their possessions. "The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offense of the Negro," is the comment of the report.

The Dorsey report has been bitterly attacked. The Governor's political opponents talked of impeaching him before his term expired. Every effort will be made in the future to discredit this document, its author and the sources of his information. But the facts stand. North and South, Americans know that there is no horror that was perpetrated in Belgium, in Turkey, Armenia or Korea which exceeds those visited upon innocent Negroes in the United States as late as 1921. In this sense the Dorsey report is the summation of a case which has for many years been placed piecemeal before a minority of Americans disposed to listen. It is the case of millions of people denied education, disfranchised by fraud and violence,* denied recourse to the law, subjected to segregated and inferior public accommodations at exorbitant prices, denied even the opportunity to defend themselves and their own against the most flagrant and glaring brutalities and violence. The cases chosen to represent conditions in Georgia may be applied with modifications to any other Southern state.

There is much talk of the biological inferiority of the Negro, of the danger of Negro domination, and of the menace to the "purity" of the white race. All this is the bandying of misconceived or fraudulent scientific terminology to conceal one of the fundamentals of the color problem in the United States; that the economic life of the South is built upon the labor, often involuntary, mostly underpaid, of Negroes.

Typical cases in point are Numbers 11 and 12, cited in the Dorsey report. No. 11:

"A Negro was sentenced to 30 days in the Fulton County chain gang for vagrancy. When he had served enough of his time to pay his fine, excepting $5, the son of a farmer in this county paid him out (i.e., released him by paying the fine). With 10 other Negroes he was carried to the man's farm, where they were locked up for the night. They were guarded by two armed Negroes by day and locked up every night." Case 12: **"The man stayed from February 1 until September 1, when he and another Negro ran away. They were caught, brought back and whipped. The other Negro begged to be killed. The white owner shot him. A weight was put upon him. His body was put in a nearby pond back of the owner's home. Fifteen Negroes were working on the place. They were frequently beaten."**

**This is to treat human beings as less than chattels.**

**Similar treatment of Negroes brought about the Arkansas riots in 1919. Those riots were provoked by white men determined to prevent recourse to the courts on the part of Negroes seeking redress. The agricultural system which prevails in Arkansas, in Georgia, and throughout the South, especially where there are large holdings of land, fastens the Negro to the land. By the so-called share cropper or rent cropper system, the Negro farmer pays his rent in produce. Having to purchase his supplies, in many cases, at the plantation store, he is at the mercy of his landlord.** No account is rendered him, and he may be kept perpetually in debt. If he demands an itemized statement of his account he is threatened with death. If he tries to escape he may be arrested, whipped or killed. One plantation owner will not take a Negro escaped from another's employ. The white men stand together. Labor has been, and still is, recruited by arresting Negroes on any pretext whatever. They are then "worked" in chain gangs on the roads, or some white man pays the fine and the Negro becomes virtually his property under the pretext of paying off the debt. White men, under this system, talk of the Negro's invariable appeal to some white friend when he is in difficulty. The Negro is forced to this appeal because he has no legal or civil standing respected by white men. Exploitation and pauperization are familiar bedfellows.

It is upon this system that the white man's ascendancy is based. He fortifies it with spurious science and maintains it by violence and intimidation. It colors the relations of white and colored people even where peonage does not prevail in its worst and most brutal forms. Every colored man who emancipates himself from the condition of laborer or farmer, who becomes other than a source of exploitable labor in the industrial scheme, constitutes, by the fact of his education and his possession of means, a threat to the white man's ascendancy. It is literally true that one of the worst crimes which a Negro can commit, in the eyes of an astoundingly large number of white men in the far Southern states, is to become wealthy and to attempt to live in the manner affected by white men of similar attainments.

At the root, then, of race conflict in the South are economic class divisions, with skin pigmentation as a distinguishing mark. The "good nigger," the "hat-in-hand darkey," as he is named, is what is wanted throughout the rural South. Such Negroes do not demand what is theirs; they take what is given them in return for the labor that enriches the white men. At best such docile Negroes are the recipients of benevolently paternal care. At worst they are robbed, driven from home, or butchered.

* * *

The urban and industrial difficulties under which the Negro labors in the United States are derived **from this antiquated and inequitable agricultural scheme. It powerfully affected the heavy northward migration of Negroes during the war, a movement which is to some extent continuing, though the growing industrial depression into which the country is plunging gives it a check. The Negro who wishes to progress has to come North eventually, even if he be an industrial and not an agricultural laborer. In the South there is virtually no opportunity to form labor unions which include Negroes. Organizers of Negro unions are lumped in public condemnation with "agitators," "Bolshevists" and the I. W. W. In one town in Mississippi there was actually posted this spring a warning to the effect that any labor union organizer who attempted to meddle with or incite Negroes would be given short shrift.**

**In lumber towns, and in the mining districts especially, the company "guards" and detectives rule. Officers of local government are often dependent upon industrial managers for their election to office. White labor unionists in the South, moreover, with few exceptions, are indoctrinated with color prejudice to such an extent that any admission of Negro workmen on an equal basis with white is inconceivable. In times of unemployment like the present, violence is frequently employed to rid jobs of their Negro incumbents in favor of white men.** Only recently the attention of the Governor of Mississippi was called to the murder of several Negro brakemen, constituting an attempt to force Negroes out of that branch of railroading. At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Denver, in the month of June, Negro delegates made a number of complaints of discrimination against their people. A correspondent of the New York Evening Post quoted the following statement which had been handed to him by a number of Negro delegates:

"We have been debarred from certain parts of our work, and all holidays, overtime, Sundays or any other overtime. We are told by a committee of white carmen, Local No. ——, that we are not recognized as carmen. We have been working for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for five,

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

10 and 15 years. Now we are only protected by officials of the railroad. Had it not been for them we would have been blotted out by white carmen."

Similar conditions were said to prevail in all unions but those of the longshoremen.

In the circumstances it will be seen how readily Negro labor can be used as a weapon against white unionism whether on the railroads in the less highly organized branches, in the stockyards, steel foundries, or, as was the case recently, in the shipping strike at the Port of New York. The national and international executives of the unions constituting the American Federation of Labor for the most part do not sanction this discrimination against and exclusion of Negroes. But it is practiced generally in the South and in the locals elsewhere. Negroes are made to distrust white organizations; they find that if they go on strike the jobs they relinquished are filled, at the settlement or resumption, by white men. The imposing pronouncements against discrimination promulgated by unions and by the Federation of Labor are unheeded. Only the I. W. W. organizers, hounded and decried as they are, admit the Negro on equal terms.

* * *

The consequences of the exploitation of the Negro in agriculture, and of his being ground between the upper and nether millstone of industrial warfare, are to be seen in cities throughout the country. Cities are the scene of color riots. They occur, often, as a consequence of the segregation of colored and white populations. **But there are other effects of segregation, not less serious, in bad housing and lighting in the Negro districts, inferior policing and sanitation. This is not true of the largest cities such as New York and Chicago, but in Chicago even, with its large voting colored population, municipal administration when applied to paving, etc., is made contingent upon the use of the colored vote in elections. Furthermore, in the cities there is an active discrimination against Negroes in many forms of employment.**

**It is from bad housing at exorbitant rentals that the Negro has suffered, especially in American cities. Where he is limited to an unofficially segregated district, his own people and white landlords overcharge him. When he migrates from the South in such numbers that his district expands and encroaches upon white territory, as was the case in Chicago, there is war. Property values fell precipitately as the Negroes moved into new neighborhoods in Chicago, only to rise again as overcrowding brought large rentals. The white owners who sold their residences parted with them, often at absurdly low prices, to real estate speculators whose interest it was to stimulate both the expansion of the Negro district and the terror and resentment of white people at the invaders. The situation was, of course, intensified by the industrial and manufacturing companies which "imported" Southern Negroes and encouraged their migration.**

The separation, which is becoming increasingly definite in American cities, between the white and the colored groups of the population is reflected in the press. Attempts are constantly made to foster antagonism. A Southern gentleman in an office of importance told me in Atlanta that it was not fear of physical violence so much which prevented dissemination in the newspapers of the facts concerning race relations, but, as he believed, fear of decreased circulation.

In this way the white press of the South performs a function similar to that of the press in the North and West. All represent dominant classes. In the South, although many white persons live in a poverty and squalor quite as desperate as that of the Negroes, it is in the main the Negro who furnishes the element it is desired to exploit. In the North it is rare that any question involving labor, strikes, or the human aspect of industrialism is adequately or fairly reported. In the South, the underdog "proletarian" is the Negro.

Despite, then, the surviving sense of responsibility which many Southerners feel for "their" Negroes, the old family retainers or descendants of them, and despite the waning charm of personal relationships between master and servant, the color problem is becoming one with the problem of freeing human beings, white or black, from abuse for money's sake. In this struggle the kindlier voices are silenced. Only a few valiant men like Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia, Ashby-Jones Wilmer and their associates on the Inter-Racial Councils throughout the South, are endeavoring to stem the tide of ignorant bitterness, are insisting on humane treatment of Negroes and recognition of their dignity as human beings. There is more decency in the South than finds expression. Here, as elsewhere in the United States, the newspapers are misrepresentative and constitute the chief instrument of power of a governing and possessing minority.—*From the Labor Monthly, London.*

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*See "The Disfranchisement of Colored Americans in the Presidential Election of 1920," published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York.

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## SENTIMENT TOWARD THE SOUTH.

The N.Y. World
10/20/21

To the Editor of The World:

I can enlighten [illegible]en Caruthers as to the reason why some Northerners do not feel cordially toward the South and its people.

Whenever I am in the South and am forced to live in the midst of the Jim Crow system; when I have to ride in street cars whose negro occupants are huddled in the back seats marked with a large sign "Colored;" when I sit in one of the public parks listening to a band concert and know that no negro citizen, however cultured and music-loving, may share this privilege with me; when I go into a public library and realize that no negro, even though he may be the author of books on its shelves, is permitted to enter it; when I hear the ignorant or malicious slander of negroes which forms so large a part of Southern conversation, I feel deeply depressed and humiliated that the self-styled "superior" race to which I belong should be characterized by such childishness, such littleness, such cruelty and vulgarity.

These are the most obvious phases of the negro's condition in the South which strike one at every turn. For its more serious aspects one need not go to the "false propaganda" of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" or other fiction, as Mr. Caruthers puts it. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is mild compared with the realities of negro enslavement and exploitation from its day to ours. Dickens was not writing fiction in his "American Notes." Frances Kemble Butler was not writing fiction in her "Diary of Two Years Spent on a Georgia Plantation." (I quote this title from memory.) To-day the knowledge that the South deliberately denies to its negro population its rightful share of education, comfort and freedom is not based on fiction but on cold statistics in reports of Commissioners of Education, in election reports, &c.

I am well aware that the "better Southern opinion" does not approve of this state of affairs, that there are a few Southerners who have enough common humanity and decency to be distressed over it. But this "better South" appears to be composed of a negligible minority, to judge by its extremely slight efforts to effect a change for the better and its silence and supineness in the face of many outrages.

I am equally aware that the North has no occasion to pride itself on its treatment of the negro, but, granting every instance in which the North has failed in this respect, it is still true that the negro's position here is paradise compared with it in the South.

If there are also many Northerners who share the Southern hatred of the negro, it is often because they are ignorant and have been misinformed. I have seen race prejudice manufactured before my eyes in the South. Florida, for instance, is the winter vacation ground for many Northerners. Many stay all winter, bring their children and send them to school there. They hear constantly what miserable wretches negroes are, all insolent, all liars, all thieves, as unrestrained sexually as animals; that you must keep them down in self-defense. Of course you occasionally hear the old stuff about how they love their mammies, but not nearly so often. With the passing of time and the arising of new interests, the Abolitionist tradition has lost much of its force for this generation of Northerners. Most of them know nothing of the negro and his problem and care less. They have neither the personal experience nor the humanitarian or scientific grounding that will enable them to detect the inevitable falsity of such charges applied indiscriminately to any race. But no one knows less truth or wants to know less about the negro race than the typical "nigger-hating" Southerner. He continues industriously to spread the poison of slander and race hatred, and in those communities where there is a constant ebb and flow of Northern visitors it spreads easily and far and many new centres of corruption are formed.

This is my reason for not feeling cordially toward the South and the majority of its people. Of course I have known Southerners who are not of this type, people of splendid humanity and vision. They are not included in this indictment. I do not know how many Northerners feel as I do about this matter but I know of a good many who do.

CLARA G. STILLMAN.

Clifton Springs, N. Y., Oct. 11.

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# U. OF C. "PROF" ANALYZES THE "NEW NEGRO"

11/12/21

The Negroes, like many other groups, are restless. In some respects they are more fortunate than those who dominate them. They are restless, but they know what they want. This, in substance, was one of the striking statements made by Dr. Park at Lincoln Center, Friday, in a lecture on Negro Race Consciousness. Dr. Park made it plain that he would treat the subject merely as a student of human nature and had no solution to offer. He agreed with Prof. Kerlin
at a people producing poetry is nc
rishing, but has visions for the
ture.

The lecture discussed in detail the
egro folk songs, showing how they
istituted a transcript of Negro life,
d that those most satisfactorily ex-
essing the racial thought or feeling
rvived. This poetry delineated the
cial dreams and reflected the hum-
e, resigned, other-worldly attitude
the slaves as well as their passion-
e yearning for freedom. The old
egro still sings these songs, but not
heartily. The younger Negroes
gely refuse to sing them, and put
de everything that reminds them of
very.

After slavery was abolished came a
iod of effort, conscious effort, to
ieve citizenship status. This, too,
s reflected by poetic attempts, many
hem very bad, few convincing, very
ficial, lacking in spontaniety. Here
Negroes were acutely conscious of
mselves. The first real poet tc
erge was Paul Lawrence Dunbar
o, according to Dr. Park, was su-
ficial, in that he reflected so little of
struggles of the Negroes during
period in which he did his best
rk. This poetry was that of tran-
on.

The last subject discussed was that
the Negro Renaissance. Here there
rebellion, self-assertion, radicalism,
en Bolshevism, a preachment not
er-worldly but of the present world,
touch of cynicism, and a tendency
vard introspection. This tendency
elf is a type of consciousness. Here
ere was a digression and the soli-
rity between mulattoes and full-
ooded Negroes was contrasted with
ations in other countries. In Euro-
an and South American countries
full-blooded are at the the bot-
n, then the mixed bloods; in Amer-
alone do the mulattoes identify
mselves with the full-blooded Ne-
oes in social class. Dr. Park gave
conclusions that the negro was
ake, learning to read and think, and
o that he was beginning to form
dition with other darker peoples, as
denced by the Garvey movement
the Pan-African Congress.

Race Problem - United States 1921.

# Origin of the Negro Press

Wilmington Advocate 1/29/21

In a recent paper read before the Sociology Club of the University of Chicago, it was pointed out that the history of the origin of the Negro Press in the United States corresponded exactly with the history of the origin of the press in one country after another in modern times. There were no newspapers in England until the times of Cromwell, and they were called forth by the revolutionary conflicts, through which the people were passing when they turned from the power of the Stuart Kings to parliamentary government. The newspaper was first a pamphlet. Sometimes a pamphlet would come out periodically, when it assumed a running title and could be called periodical. Likewise there were no real newspapers in France until the French Revolution when a flood of printed matter poured forth to celebrate the rising of an oppressed group into liberty. Newspapers flourished afresh among the famous thirteen colonies who broke from England in the same century. It is practically true that in modern times no revolution takes place, no new group comes into its liberties without being heralded by a press.

Now, as Booker T. Washington points out so ably in his book, "The Story of the Negro," this particular group has for many years been a group aspiring to freedom and larger opportunity. He cites an early memory of his mother awakening him one morning before daylight by her prayer for Abraham Lincoln and freedom, while he lay on his heap of rags in his master's kitchen. This has been the reason that as early as 1827 the race began to get into print with "Freedom's Journal," published in New York on March 16, 1827. Naturally too, it speaks the voice of conflicts, for it arose in opposition to a paper published there which had attacked the Negro. Interesting in this connection is the publication of a single pamphlet by a colored man in 1829 of which three editions had to be printed. This was "Walker's Appeal." David Walker was born in North Carolina in 1785, but declaring he could not live where men were enslaved about him, and being free through his mother, he went to Boston. His pamphlet went so far as to suggest a slave insurrection and was so widely circulated even in the South that the mayor of Savannah wrote in consternation to the mayor of Boston demanding Walker's punishment, the Virginia Legislature was thrown into alarm and Louisiana added another law against free Negroes

The great progress in the growth of a Negro Press dates really from the present generation. In 1870 the number of periodicals was 10; in 1880 it was 30; in 1890, however, the number had jumped to 154. The Negro Year Book for 1918-1919 gives about 450 for the present day.

It may be noteworthy that this remarkable development has so far attracted the notice of the white group, that a professor in Virginia Military Institute, R. T. Kerlin, has produced a book of selections from Negro papers called "The Voice of the Negro," and Mr. F. G. Detweiler, a sociology professor now studying at the University of Chicago, is at present undertaking a comprehensive study of the whole field of newspaper publications among colored people.

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# AN ENGLISHMAN VISITS AMERICA

Negro World 2/12/21

The Soul of John Brown—By Stephen Graham. The Macmillan Company, 1920—331 pages.

After serving in the English army through a war in which the white men of Europe were cutting each other's throats by the million to determine which should gobble up the lands and labors of the African in the name of white Christianity, Mr. Stephen Graham came over to America to see what white Christianity has done for the African after transporting him to its own land. What he found would have daunted a professional optimist. He has set forth his findings in this volumes, but it isn't very easy to pin him down to any definite conclusions. Mr. Graham writes with his tongue in his cheek and leers in luscious contempt at both the white and black American. Anyone who mistakes him for a friend of either has been "done in the eye," as the English say, for the opening sentence is a thinly-veiled sneer at the insincerity of the white American's democratic pretensions and his last sentence commits us all to the devil. One hardly knows whether to take his book as "impressions" of the American race-problem or a "study" of it.

The author set out to make an observation trip through the South, following the trail of General Sherman in his famous march to the sea. He had a desire to find out just where the Southern Negroes stand today in the scale of things American, and to set that forth for the information of the white sections of the English-speaking world. His work stands midway between that of a superficial impressionist, and that a serious seeker after truth. Unfortunately, it has been done much better by Messrs. White and Seligman in the latter's recent book, "The Negro Faces America." Mr. Graham has sought to combine the merits and methods of two famous works of the middle of the last century: Frederick Law Olsted's "A Journey Through the Seaboard Slave States," and Fanny Kemble's "Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation," but he falls far short of the intimate knowledge of the one and the profound comprehension of the other. It would be obviously unfair to expect either of these qualities in a strolling Englishman who had only a few months to spend on his quest for the truth in such a tangled matter as that of our American race-relations; and, on the whole, his work is meritorious.

His errors of observation are not deadly; indeed some of them are somewhat diverting. He finds, for instance, that Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois "is the greatest force among the Negroes today," that Booker T. Washington was "more sooty" than he, that James Weldon Johnson is also "a darker man," that "The Crisis" is a newspaper, that there are only about a hundred Negro newspapers in the United States, that Madame Walker sells a nostrum called "Anti-Kink," that there are Negro marines in the United States Navy, and that there is a song known as "Yakky, Yekky, Yikky, Yokky Doola.' These are the laughable errors; but sometimes this gift of inaccuracy leads to serious results as, for instance, when in the chapter on "The Negro's New Mind," he cheerfully chatters of the cowardice of the American Negro troops in France. We sincerely hope that he may get hold of Mrs. Hunton's and Miss Johnson's book recently reviewed in these columns and get at official first hand the exceptionally high record of Negro Americans in France during the World War.

These genial errors, however, make but a small fraction of Mr. Graham's book and as the only professional Negro book reviewer in captivity, we should be false to our trust if we failed to call attention to the good side of the volume now before us. The author sees in America's attitude toward her Negro population not only a real danger to her in the event of an invasion of her borders, but a menace to the white race as well, and he now and then breaks the thread of his very interesting narrative to exhort a heedless nation to return to the elementary decencies of justice and fair dealing.

'If ill treatment of the Negroes should at last force the twelve millions of them to make cause with a revolutionary mob," he says in one place, "polite America might be overwhelmed and the larger portion of the world be lost—if not of the world, at least of that world we call civilization." He means the Anglo-Saxon 'world, of course, as most Anglo-Saxons do when they speak of "civilization" and "the world," but the warning is no less solemn and portentous on that account. Elsewhere he says: "I felt sorry for the white women of the South; there will some day be a terrible reckoning against them. Their honor and safety are being made the pretext for terrible brutality and cruelty. Revenge, when it gains its opportunity, will therefore wreak itself upon the white woman most. Because in the name of the white woman they justify burning Negroes at the stake today, white women may be burned by black mobs by and by."

There is no doubt that almost any insurrection of Negroes could ultimately be put down by force and that it would be very bad for the Negroes and for their cause; but before it could be put down what might happen? And should it synchronize with revolutionary disturbances among the whites themselves, or with a foreign war?" This thought, though seldom expressed, often comes to the minds of white men who, judging by what they themselves would do, easily impute the same intention to Negroes. Whether such an imputation is well or ill-founded the present writer refuses to say; but it is certainly dishonest and unfair to impute such intentions to Dr. Du Bois, as our author does. He obviously lacks the toughness of fiber needed for such intentions, which would imply too stark a rejection of the "sweet reasonableness" of literary and parliamentary discussion and the other modes of approach to ultimate "reconciliation" with that white man's world of which his genius is so fine a flower.

Mr. Graham sees the sinister problem of lynching from many different angles. He notes its roots in the simple brutish desire to keep the Negro down—to the level where his work, wealth and women can be most safely and successfully appropriated. He also sees the importance of "race" in the study of its reactions, and sagely observes: "I am tempted to think that if the white race which inhabits the south were French or Russian or Polish or Greek there would be no lynchings." "It is the Anglo-Saxon and Irish-American section of the population" he adds later, "who determine the way of politics here, as elsewhere in the South." and he explains the Negro masses' apathy to Socialism and Bolshevism in a way that should carry concern, if not conviction, even to the editors of The Messenger. "They [the white proletariat of the South] are said to be the worst enemies of the Negro, and the Negro is afraid of Bolshevism or Socialism because he knows that the common white people, 'those who have nothing and are nothing,' are the last people likely to give him justice," and he quotes approvingly the words of a prominent Negro: "As long as Socialism is followed by the lower classes of whites, we can see that there is more danger coming from Socialism to the Negro than from anything else, because below the Mason and Dixon lie the people who lynch Negroes are the low-down whites." This is the very reaction which we foretold in 1912 to the bourgeois opportunists of the Socialist Party.

Our author points out that the theory of sex-perversion also applies to the with it all his life, may be unable to white mobs who dance with ghoulish glee around a roasting Negro. This popular form of sadism was noted by a German scholar about fifteen years ago, but it still stands in need of pungent presentation.

Here and there the Negro reader will find helpful criticisms of his race's demerits. Mr. Graham comments in caustic vein on certain tendencies of the educated Negro and notices "a marked disposition to quarrel" among them. "Loyalty to one another was not one of their characteristics." Of the mulattoes he avers that, "Sin is written in most of their bodies. It is sharpest in the mulattoes and 'near-whites' . . . The moral character of the black Negroes is simpler than that of the pallid ones." And he takes obvious pleasure in trifling with the cultured Dr. Bolling of Norfolk, who "was himself married to a woman who could pass as white . . . and his children were little white darlings with curly hair." On the whole he doesn't seem to fancy the mulatto, and we feel sure that some of them will indemnify themselves later in their own proper persons.

But neither does he fancy the "crackers," whom he describes as more ignorant, ugly (women and men), illiterate and uncivilized than the rest of white America. At one show in New Orleans the whole audience roared with mirth at a competition in what was called 'fizzing,' the spitting of chewed tobacco in one another's faces and the bandying of purely Southern epithets and slang. To such disgusting levels do Anglo-Saxons descend who talk of the Negro as "inferior"!

Mr. Graham has seen and smelt a great deal in the South. He twits us on our "odor," and affects doubt as to the existence of an unpleasant body smell among his own tribe. We beg to assure him, however, that the stink which reeks from the bodies of his folk is oftentimes unbearable to us, and we have had many times to desert our seat in the subway and stand near to the door because of it. He, having lived sense it. But if he doubts our Negro word he may surely take that of the Japanese and Chinese. Indeed the ill-

(Over)

(From Other Side)

fragrance of his folk has often served to keep many a colored lad within the ranks of his own race, and explains in part the predilection for perfumes which is so characteristic of them.

We wish that we had space to correct Mr. Graham's absolutely erroneous impression as to the service rendered to white civilization by the Ku Klux. We can commend him to a perusal of Hart, Blaine and Dunning and express the hope that when he writes next on the subject he may take the trouble to find out the date and recorded facts.

After all, he finds more good than bad among the Negroes of the South. He notes that, "While the industrialized masses of the whites are certainly degenerating, the masses of the Negroes are as certainly rising," and he remarks on "the polite homes of the colored working class, cleaner, richer, cozier than that of the average British workman on Tyneside or London Docks: and we may fittingly close this notice of "The Soul of John Brown" with a brief paragraph which seems to sum up his findings:

"The white South could improve its Negroes infinitely if it cared to do so On the whole, however, it does not wish its Negroes to rise and seems most happy when they can readily be identified with the beasts that perish. But if it thought more highly of the Negro, the Negro would rise." That is a sufficiently damning indictment of America's lying civilization. H. H.

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## South and Negro Question

*To the Editor of the Evening Public Ledger:*

Sir—I have heard many comments on your editorial of July 10, 1921. Possibly you hoped for such, though I am still of the opinion that your paper entertains, along with other views, one of dignity. Instead of the heading "Organized Mob Government a New Problem," your various inferences and assertions would have been better under the heading of "Hash for All." It seems unreasonable to mix such varied doses into our cookery and expect it to digest well.

I am too courteous to enter into any controversy with regard to the Negro detail below the Mason and Dixon line. The Southern people are better able to cope with whatever situations may arise without suggestions from others, many of whom are entirely unfamiliar with the conditions.

However, as your remarks center in that direction, I might add that more Negroes were killed in the longshoremen's strike in Philadelphia than have been lynched by all of the Southern States for a period of years. It is not necessary to recall the other riots of the last few years in several Northern cities.

I am in your city, where the Negro has equal rights with some few exceptions, and I conform to the implied conditions without grumbling and thereby making a chump of myself, so it is up to both Negroes and all others when in the South to conform accordingly with solid laws and customs.

I have no sympathy with ministerial or other forces who preach intermarriage in a State where the practice is unlawful. The tar and feathers were justly applied.

But harp on your domestic trouble and lay off the South. Also, under the same caption you should have drawn a few comparisons from Kensington and their actions. H. H. ANDERSON.

Philadelphia, July 26, 1921.

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## ANTE-BELLUM PHILOSOPHIZING.

A few weeks ago a colored man by the name of Philip Smith died in Savannah, Ga. He had been employed for a long number of years at the Savannah Cotton Exchange and when he died the flag over the Exchange was put at half-mast. A good many prominent men connected with the Exchange paid a tribute to Mr. Smith, a tribute which was no doubt deserved.

The leading Savannah daily paper took this incident as an occasion to publish an editorial in which it philosophized on the race question and incidentally read the colored people of the country a lecture. The editorial was as follows: New York Age.

2/12/21

> Just at this time, when there is so much untrue talk about racial difficulties, and so much talk of this sort that, alas, is true, it is refreshing for Savannah to offer to the attention of the whole country the fact that the flag over the Savannah Cotton Exchange was half-masted in respect to the qualities and service of a Negro man who had died. Philip Smith was a Negro porter and had served the Exchange for forty-three years. He was faithful and efficient and courteous and the color of his skin did not prevent the membership from paying honor to his memory.
>
> There is a lesson worth learning in this mark of respect paid by white men of the highest standing to a Negro employed in a position that would be considered of certainly not a very high order. It is partly that courtesy and faithfulness and efficiency will meet their recompense, whether the man who employs them is white or black. And this part of the lesson should be taken to heart most by the people of this man's own race. There is a way for the two races to live in peace and harmony together; in some parts of the South that way has been found, and perhaps nowhere else is it better exemplified than here in Savannah, where any Negro who attends to his business should find no difficulty in getting a square deal; certainly every white man in Savannah who has any respect for the laws made by white men should see to it that any Negro of this sort who, it appears, is about to get a deal that is not square should be protected.
>
> The bigger part of the lesson is one that should be read by those in other parts of the country who think that in the South a Negro cannot win respect, cannot win confidence, and for the mere reason that his skin is not white. The half-masting of the Cotton Exchange flag for a Negro is unusual; possibly it occurred the other day for the first time. But it did occur and at a time opportune for calling special attention to it. Economic conditions in recent months have tended to develop racial feeling everywhere in the country, and it is well to point to this incident as showing that, at any time, a Negro who goes quietly about his business, is faithful and honest, will have no trouble while he lives and will be mentioned with respect when he is dead.

The philosophizing on the part of the writer of the above editorial leads us to do a bit of philosophizing, and we ask, What was it after all that the members of the Savannah Cotton Exchange were honoring in Philip Smith, and what is at the heart of the lecture which they are reading to the colored people at large? We ask these questions because the sort of philosophy that the above quoted editorial contains is very common throughout the South. Philip Smith was being honored because for forty-three years, in a menial capacity, he was efficient, faithful, and always courteous; and the lesson read to the race as a whole is that so long as its members are efficient, faithful and courteous in menial positions, they will have no trouble in getting along in the South. No doubt Philip Smith as an individual deserved all the honor and tributes that were paid him, but the lesson goes no further than him as an individual; it has no wider application.

The editorial in the Savannah Morning News says, "He was faithful and efficient and courteous and the color of his skin did not prevent the membership from paying honor to his memory." But is it not equally true that the color of his skin did prevent his rising to any position higher than that of porter in the Savannah Cotton Echange, even during a service of forty-three years.

There is a certain type of southern mind which continues to have pleasant dreams of Negroes made in the image of "Uncle Tom." They delight in picturing southern people as the magnanimous protectors of these faithful retainers, and so it is easy for a colored man by working himself to death in the "faithful" service of white folks to gain at his death tributes of esteem that would not be paid to a Booker T. Washington.

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## PREJUDICE AND DOLLARS

Times Plain Dealer 3/5/21

Race prejudice is not only the present-day life's greatest evil, but presents some of life's greatest irregularities and anomalies.

**Why is it** that a white man in North Carolina summoned a large number of witnesses before a court to prove that his wife had been entangled with a Negro?

**And why wasn't** this Negro quietly lynched, and the action charged to the usual "assault" column?

**Why?** In the name of Dixon and Vardaman at one and the same time we ask is it other than for the fact that the Negro is said to be worth over a quarter of a million!

**It is dollars, dollars, United States dollars** the "hurt" and "humiliated" husband desires; and to recover dollars for the "alienating of the affection" of one's wife the defendant must be **alive.**

Theoretically, there are many things that money cannot buy, but such commodities are hard to find, it would seem, here in America. And the prejudice of the white man is no exception.

**What manner of striped monster** is this thing called Race Prejudice that it parks its tail before the Sign of the Dollar, but bristles and claws at the Sign of Progress of the darker Americans, evidenced by the desire to vote, ride, and live like other men?

Race Problem—1921.

United States.

# RESIDENTS PROTEST TO COUNCIL ON MANNER OF SPENDING CITY'S MONEY

## Colored People Told By Noland They Have Had More Than Their Share of Improvements.

## TRAFFIC, NOT CITIZENS, DICTATES PAVING PLANS

## Lively Encounter Brings Council to Defensive On Matter of Expenditures.

Traffic conditions and not the preference of residents govern the expenditures of the city council in street improvements.

This was the declaration of the council yesterday to groups of citizens who appeared before that body to protest against the action of the council in making arrangements for certain improvements which do not include their particular blocks or sections.

That the city has spent more than two-thirds of its money for various improvements on the east side of the railroad, and one-half of this amount in the colored sections was the declaration of Councilman L. U. Noland in response to the large group of colored residents who likewise appeared to protest for a similar reason.

They declared that they were not satisfied with the improvements given them by the city and thought they were entitled to more. The council, throught Mr. Noland told them the city has done all that it can do at this time and that the colored people should be satisfied with the large expenditures already incurred as a measure of relief.

Not satisfied with the general improvements and benefits rendered the city by the new form of government, residents from two sections of the city appeared to register vigorous complaint against the proposed plan of the council to improve certain streets out of money from the bond issue, as planned at the last meeting.

### White Citizens Kick.

One group consisted of citizens residing on Thirty-fourth street between West and Washington avenues, who declared that the block should be improved in preference to Thirty-fifth street between Washington and Huntington, where property values are not so high. They were represented by Emmett Milstead.

Another group consisted of colored residents of East End, in the Marshall and Madison avenue sections. They were represented by Lawyer Walker and W. H. C. Brown.

Both pleas were based on promises of long standing originating with the old council, the white complainants declaring that their street was included in the $350,000 bond issue, and the colored residents asserting that their complaint was of long duration and likewise had been fostered by many promises by both old and new councils.

Both groups appeared by coincidence at the meeting of the council with similar complaints. One of the colored representatives quickly took issue with a white delegate telling him that his section should forbear a little longer and that the colored section should receive some attention, in that it had been unduly neglected.

"The council knows about that and is doing everything possible," Mr. Smith explained.

### "District" Got Improvements.

One of the most vigorous of the colored speakers was W. H. C. Brown. He declared that the colored people have been sufferers for the past twenty years, and that the city should stop promising and begin to act at once. He declared that better and more beneficial improvements have been made in the "Red Light" section along Warwick avenue next to the railroad than in the better residential sections.

Major Thom, city manager, told Brown that the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway had practically furnished the transportation of the stone for those thoroughfares and the council told Brown that if any group of citizens would pay the cost the city would do the work gladly.

Other colored residents appeared, each with a complaint about some particular block or section, or group of colored residents.

After listening quietly to the argument of the colored representatives and the replies of various council members to the contention that the installation of an expensive sewer system was not sufficient and that they were not satisfied, but desired more improvements, Councilman L. U. Noland arose to address the council and the delegation.

"We have done all that we can do for you after the large amount of money spent in that section," he declared.

"Do you know that the city has spent more than two-thirds of the money available for improvements east of the railroad and that one-half of this was spent in the colored section."

"When this council assumed office, it assumed liability so far as the general fund was concerned. When we came into office the general fund was defunct and hasn't improved any since that time."

"We have let contracts for sewers at a cost of $70,000 and have mapped out a program for street improvements in that section on which we are now working."

"We were elected, not in representation of any ward or group but of the entire city, and the improvements made by this council should be made with the interest of the city as a whole in view."

"Personally, I feel that the residents of the colored section have been benefitted with more than their share in the expenditures of the city.".

"With a program of street improvements outlined and at the present in operation we feel that we have done all we can do, and that you people should be satisfied," Councilman Noland declared.

The council then explained to the white residents who asked for a reconsideration of the plan of improvement submitted that the council had to be guided by traffic condi-

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SPARTANSBURG S C HERALD
JUNE 22, 1921

## THE BLACK MAN AND THE WHITE MAN.

"A nigger is the smartest thing in the world." That is not an original statement, but a sort of spontaneous remark, springing up from time to time all over that part of the country where the white man knows the negro and the black man knows the white man—still better. The negro is smart like the serpent. He has had to be smart to "get by" and to get what he wants.

This remark is borne out by a very recent article by Chester T. Crowell, in the Independent, New York, in which that gentleman speaks of the south's negro problem. He says:

"There are two facts that must be understood clearly before one can approach the south's negro problem with the remotest hopes of understanding. One is that the negro understands the southern white man more deeply than the white man understands the negro. For every advantage a shrewd white man wrings from the black and the black man wheedles another from the white. They know us from toe to head, from soul to pocketbook, and they v upon us as a master upon his . And we like it; their work stic. Fact number two is that man of the south loves the ay it, however hotly he is the most important fact Up here in New York I miss 'niggahs'—my 'niggahs'—who love to serve me and whose services I love better than any other.

"Once you have got rid of the phantom of social and political equality you have in the negro qualities that you cannot keep from loving. If you leave out all the others and name only one it will be sufficient to make my point. Negroes love children and understand them and know how to entertain them and enjoy the task. Our children are devoted to them. Could there be a more tender tie? The care of a child is a burden to most of us when we are busy. It is a joy to a negro, and he discharges the double service with utmost grace. No true son or daughter of the south can think of childhood without hearing again the endearing terms of their devoted protectors and seeing smiling, black, shiny faces through a mist of tears."

Mr. Crowell has the point of view. The southern white man knows and has an affection and an esteem for the black man because of the black man's ability to get out of the white man what he wants. Only recently a gentleman we know spent the afternoon seeking for a little black negro, who was reported to be ill. That little black sick negro had been paid out of jail by him a half dozen times. He had run away and left the white man's family many times when he was needed. He had borrowed money from him, never returned, of course, and yet he was looking for him to administer to his comforts in the hour of the little black man's suffering.

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WACO TEX TRIBUNE
APRIL 20, 1921

## Race Prejudice

The president in his recent message to congress said many good things. On the whole we found cause to be gratified at the earnest, honest presentation of American needs. We are more than ever impressed now with the statesmanship of Mr. Harding and believe that he is going to gradually bring the country around to a condition of safety and prosperity.

In touching upon race prejudice, however, we feel that he takes too seriously the fabricated reports of a certain organization in the east, fostered for the purpose of helping the negroes. When he speaks of those states in which the colored race represents such a large portion of the population, he, of course, has reference to southern states, and his condemnation of the barbaric spirit of lynching is intended for the people living where the colored population is the largest.

It is not a fact, however, that race prejudice is growing in the south and it is not a fact that any alarming per cent of the citizenship of the south believes in lynchings. If it so happens that there are more negroes lynched below the Mason and Dixon line than above it, that is for the very good reasan that more dastradly crimes are committed below that line than above it. Should the colored population be considered there is no doubt that the per cent will show in our favor.

This section is as fair to the negro race as any other section in the country. It has not encouraged that race the belief that it can ever be socially equal with the white race, but it has tried to persuade the negro to be an industrious, worthy, property-accumulating citizen; it has sought to give him an industrial education and to make his condition happy and prosperous. There is not a law on the statute book of any state in the south that would deprive him of the right to accumulate property and enjoy it. He is segregated in a way, but he can grow as rich as a white man if he is smart enough, he can have as good a home, ride in as fine a car, use the streets and highways as freely and enjoy every privilege within the "colored realm" that any of us enjoy within our realm.

In the north and east there are fanatics who take delight in telling the negroes that they are being abused in the south. But the thoughtful, sensible man of that race knows very well that he gets better treatment down here that he gets anywhere on the continent. Up there he receives sympathy for his vote, down here he gets help because we realize that he is in this country from no fault of his own and that as a human being he ought to be encouraged along proper lines.

Good men everywhere deplore lynchings. We are against such a form of anarchy here in the south, just as our brothers are against it in the north. We do not excuse it on the grounds that the crimes that cause it are unmentionable, but in the south or in the north, when some brute makes an innocent woman the victim of his diabolical passion, he is hunted down and destroyed like a vicious mad dog. Perhaps the day will come when the law will be allowed to take its course in such cases. We all want to see that day, because we feel that those who engage in a lynching lower their own standards. Yet, as we said on the outset, we do not believe that conditions are such as to justify the president in dignifying the subject with mention in his message. There is no better civilization under the stars than is found in the south, and we are not prejudiced against the negro; we have learned where he belongs and only insist that he remain there, and so long as he does so, he is as safe as any other citizen.

# NATIONAL RACE CONGRESS DISCUSSES NEGRO ISSUES

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
MAY 5, 1921.

### Delegates Received by President.

### Tonight's Session in Methodist A. M. E. Church.

"The Negro and Interracial Relations" was the general theme discussed at the second day meeting of the sixth annual session of the National Race Congress of the United States of America at the Zion Baptist Church today.

Rev. W. H. Jernagin, president of the organization, was in the chair, and after the reading of a journal and an address by Dr. J. R. L. Diggs of Baltimore, the delegates proceeded to the White House, where they were received by President Harding.

The program for the late session this afternoon includes reading of reports by various officers and addresses by Dr. George W. Cannon, Jersey City, and Rev. R. W. Roundy, New York city.

Tonight's session will be held at the Methodist A. M. E. Church, M street between 15th and 16th streets, when the principal speakers will be President C. D. B. King, Liberia, Africa; Senator S. P. Spencer of Missouri and J. C. Asbury of Philadelphia.

In his opening address at the exercises yesterday Prof. George E. Haynes took as his theme "The Negro and His Industrial Relations," after which the subject was discussed at length by the assembly in general.

Others to speak included Phil Browne of the Department of Labor and Commissioner James F. Oyster, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of the city.

The annual address of the president, together with addresses by Dr. W. J. Howard, Dr. A. C. Garner and J. Louis Taylor, were delivered at last night's session. A musical program also was presented by the members of the Metropolitan Wesley A. M. E. Z. Church, under the direction of Miss Laura Tyler.

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# POLITICAL COWARDICE AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM

N. Y. C. GLOBE
JUNE 28, 1921

## An Interesting Bit of History Revealed by Grosvenor Clarkson of the Council of National Defense—Letters to Baker and Replies.

Editor Globe:—In connection with the race riots at Tulsa, and as bearing even more nearly upon the destiny of the American Negro, I send you with this copies of letters that passed between Secretary of War Baker, as chairman of the United States Council of National Defense, and myself, as director of that body, in March and July, 1919. Since these letters were official and in no sense personal, I do not hesitate to quote them, and am sure that Mr. Baker will not object to my doing so.

Of course the pertinence of the correspondence is that it points the way to constructive measures in the Negro's interest. It is true that the Council of National Defense—which nine months before we went to war was created as a peace-time body to study industrial preparedness, and which became a war agency only through irresistible circumstance—has, with the present reversion to our confirmed and sentimental pacifism, been allowed to die. It would be possible, however, given the desire, to organize in any one of several places under the government a committee such as I suggest.

It makes very little difference what kind of federal co-operation with the Negro is established. The first need is to do away with the cowardice, political and intellectual, shared by both great parties, that is the chief barrier to his qualifying for the duties of a citizenship rightly his.

He cannot be expected much longer to tread a passive path unless he is made to feel that he is part of a common country, part of a common government—a conception denied to him actually or in effect by at least a dozen states, denied to him by the government at Washington. In the case of the Negro we find the apotheosis of what a constitution may promise but does not give.

If we must, Tartuffian-wise, proclaim to the world the philosophy that we went into the war merely to save our own skins; if we must turn our backs on what the war left in its wake, let us at least view our own scene with courage, with prescience, and with, I may add, a little humility. It is not merely an economic welter that we have to solve here at home. We are by way of ignoring a human problem that may become terrible in its complexities.

GROSVENOR CLARKSON.
Washington, D. C., June 21, 1921.

### [Enclosures.]

March 31, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:—It is trite to say that the American Negro has been betrayed by both of the great political parties, but in effect it is true. I believe that the twelve million black people of this country deserve more of a voice in the government than they have had; and in my judgment the Council of National Defense is the proper place to give these people the national focusing point to which they are entitled. I do not have to recall to you the peculiar philosophy which time has proved to be the underlying significance of the Council of Defense, but here I believe is an opportunity to translate that philosophy anew in the most practical and sentient fashion.

Always it has been the history of the black people that their advancement has been retarded by dissension among themselves. I can conceive of no better way in which to harmonize the internal differences of the race than by bringing its discordant elements together into a permanent committee under the council—a committee to be composed, of course, entirely of Negroes.

Somewhat concretely to this end I enclose for your consideration copy of a memorandum which Emmett Scott (former secretary of the Tuskegee Institute) has prepared at my request.

There comes to my mind a sentence that my father, the late James S. Clarkson, once wrote to a Negro friend: "The prayer of the smallest child kneeling on the floor of a Negro cabin in the lowliest part of the south is stronger in the eyes of an answering God than any political party can be."

I feel further that the black race in this country has shown the white race more patience than the white race has shown the black race. It is time that we take a step forward in this matter, and I believe that the suggestion which I have made furnishes the opportunity. The council is charged under the act creating it with "the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation." Here is a task made to our hand, one in which tangible fruitage can be made to parallel a nobility of purpose which no private interest or party faction could dare question.

GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON,
Director of the Council.

### Secretary Baker's Reply.

March 31, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Clarkson:—I am returning these papers to you with the request that you bring them to my attention as soon as I get back from Europe, at which time I think we ought to undertake actively the reorganization of the Council of National Defense and the Advisory Commission.

I am in entire sympathy with your suggestion herewith, with the possible exception that I would like to think a little more fully as to whether the committee ought to be composed entirely of Negroes. There are men in this country, like George Foster Peabody, Julius Rosenwald, and two or three others, whose association with movements for the betterment of conditions among the Negro race is lifelong and genuine. It seems to me entirely possible that the committee which we form might have at least one such white man upon it, or perhaps two, with the majority of Negroes.

The whole question, however, is one which ought to be considered by the Council of National Defense as a body, and not determined by me as chairman, and I think it would be a mistake to undertake the appointment of such a committee now, with the commission and the council itself in such a quiescent state. It would be very much better to have the peacetime reorganization effected, and then have this important committee appointed, perhaps in conjunction with other committees representing other problems in American life, none of which may be so large or acute, but still of enough importance to justify continuous and separate treatment.

NEWTON D. BAKER.

### Negro Trouble in Washington.

July 22, 1919.

My Dear Secretary:—The present trouble between whites and Negroes in Washington is, of course, a disgrace to the city. But it goes far beyond that. No one will seek to condone lawlessness on the part of the Negro any more than one will seek to condone lawlessness on the part of the white man; but what are the 12,000,000 black people of the country going to think when they see members of their race pulled from street cars upon suspicion and beaten up—at the national capital? It is a grave business in these changing times. There is no greater danger to the republic just now than self-anointed judges tinctured with passion, and the danger is the greater where racial discord is involved.

I know nothing of the bona fides of the alleged cases of rape which seem to lie at the bottom of the trouble, although anybody knows who has studied the matter of rape in connection with the Negro that it is too often chiefly compounded of hysteria and hallucination. In the present instance one at least of the local newspapers has done everything that it could to inflame the public mind on matters which should be dealt with only by the even progressions of law.

It seems to me that here there is something wholly within the purview of the Council of National Defense. I therefore suggest that you, as chairman of the council, dictate a steadying statement of say three or four hundred words, a statement which will bring the situation back to its bed-rock aspect, one to which the entire council can subscribe and which I can issue in the usual manner. I conceive it to be the council's duty not only to act in matters touching the national defense, but to concern itself with domestic disorder, particularly where that disorder drives so sharply to the heart of one of our great national problems and obligations.

GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON.

### The Secretary's Answer.

July 22, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Clarkson:—I have your note of this morning. Obviously, the present situation calls upon us to do not only the wise and repressive thing, but the helpful thing. I have some doubt whether the Council of National Defense, however, ought to make a statement about a local matter, since we have not the means of investigating local situations in other parts of the country, and, therefore, cannot manifest the same concern about disturbances occurring elsewhere. It may be that there is a sufficient ground for distinction in the fact that this particular trouble is in Washington, the seat of the federal government and under federal territory. Meantime, I am hopeful that the steps already taken will have a helpful effect, and to-morrow I should be glad to talk with you further about your suggestion.

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# VEXATIOUS NEGRO PROBLEM

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
JUNE 23, 1921

### Plain Talk From [illegible] to Results of Social Rights

*To the Editor of the Public Ledger:*

Sir—Letters on the Negro are plentiful, and those from that race would indicate they desire social rights.

It would be well if those among us who are encouraging the Negro's aspirations were to think seriously of the result were they realized — intermarriage, social intercourse, etc.

Why not admit that a nation can have but one dominant race? Are we willing that it should be other than white? Education has been claimed as a cure-all. I wonder. It is more likely to be a trouble-maker, it seems to me, in some cases.

It would be good if some people would descend from the clouds before it is too late.

A NORTHERNER.
Philadelphia, June 20, 1921.

Race Problem - 1921.

United States.

# Government Protection

Washington Bee 8/27/21

The Editor: I guess you realize that we are not getting as much protection today from the Government as we did thirty (30) years ago.

It is scarcely a day that the head lines of the daily press don't show that our people are used as a target. This should not be. It is not a job imposed on any one person but every Colored American in the country, man, woman and child should see that it is stopped.

The Colored American Press plays a large part in solving the many ills suffered by American people and the shortcomings of the American Congress, than any other agency. And since this movement will bring us closer together, all having the same common interest and receiving the same benefit, it is sincerely hoped that you will publish the news we send you and give it all the display you possible can each week until the convention is over.

I hope you will agree with me, that organization is what we want.

There are 435 members in the House of Representatives of the American Congress. We want to elect 435 district organizers at this convention, whose duty it will be to organize their congressional districts and elect men to come to the American Congress who will stand for the protection of the Colored American.

It will be the duty of the representative who will stay in Washington, D. C., to forward bulletins to the various districts (435) so as to show the vote of the representatives in the American Congress on questions or stands they take for the protection of American citizens regardless of their race.

Unless we get together, the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States will be repealed, Jim Crow car law and mob violence will continue to grow and finally will become prevalent in every State in the Union.

It is time to stop it—we need your assistance.

Very truly,

Francis Wells,

President Blain Invincible Republican Club,

1908 Ninth St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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## SHALL THE AMERICAN CONGRESS STILL FAIL TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE COLORED AMERICAN?

The Blaine Invincible Republican Club of Washington, D. C. looks for action in emergencies created by mob violence, lynching, Jim Crow car law, nonenforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States and the civil rights act.

Shall the services of Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Ben Wade, Wendall Phillips and many others be forgotten, when they offered their lives for the government of the people by the people and for the people to make it mean all it should mean to the people, both white and black?

The time is here when we have to remind the American Congress that we are cognizant of the obligation they owe us. It was the good old Republican party which saw that a government could not peacefully flourish by dealing absolute justice to some of its people and stintingly deal out justice to at least 12,000,000 of its most reliable American citizens.

We are soliciting the support of every person, every church, every society, every association, every club and every organization in every town, city and county in the United States to affiliate with the Blaine Invincible Republican Club, which has been in existence in the National Capital since 1874.

We want to have delegates to represent every congressional district.

Our only protection from the American Government will be the result of organization.

The convention will organize all Colored American forces in the United States to advocate protection of Colored American's interest, life, liberty and happiness.

The convention will be called to meet at 12 o'clock noon on November 30, 1921, and on the first Monday in December the convention will have prepared and made ready to place before Congress the results of their deliberations.

It is earnestly requested that every church, society ,association, club, and organization will make arrangements for the election of delegates and forward the same to Francis Wells, President, 1908 Ninth Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

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CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
AUGUST 1, 1921

## The Negro Migration

Later census figures follow the earlier ones with almost touching fidelity. Very early, when only municipal counts were given, it appeared that the negro population of the north had increased much more rapidly than the white, while in the south, just the opposite was true. Now, with state statistics coming in, we find that the white population of Illinois increased 14 per cent in the last decade and the negro 67; while in Oklahoma, the negroes gained 8.6 per cent and the whites 26.

The race problem is no longer sectional, yet it differs sharply on the two sides of Mason and Dixon's line. In the south, the color question seems quite as likely to be raised in the country as in the cities, and the disgraceful lynching of negroes occurs mainly in the smaller communities. In the north, race conflict is confined almost wholly to the cities, there are comparatively few isolated lynchings, but every few years, some northern town indulges in a riot with negroes for victims.

There is little to choose between the two regimes in the matter of injustice, but there is pretty good evidence that northern conditions hit the colored race, as a race, much harder than do those of the south. City life is not well endured by the negro. The high birth rate of the plantations is cut down, and the infant death rate goes up. Even among the whites, great cities are maintained chiefly by immigration from the countryside; and without such immigration, city negro colonies would disappear in short order.

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## A NEW ANGLE

Chicago Defender 9/3/21

**IT SEEMS TO BE** a most difficult matter for white America to decide just what the status of black America is or should be. On the one hand, liberalists admit our right to be classed as 100 per cent American and entitled to the benefits accruing therefrom, while, on the other hand, the one-track minds are shouting "this is a white man's country," and on that assumption they expect every dark race to dance when they crack the whip. But the Japanese are more inclined to be jugglers than dancers and doubtless this will be demonstrated at the coming conference at Washington in November, in which not only Japan but China will have a voice. The race question that will be presented will cover or include what is commonly called the "race question" in this country.

**THE AVERAGE** American white man who contends that this is a white man's country means to exclude not only the Mongolians but the Colored American as well. But it appears many of them recognize and admit a difference between the Mongolian and our group. The contention on their part is that the Mongolian is not and cannot become an American in the true sense of that term—his loyalty and allegiance is necessarily foreign. With us, on the other hand, our loyalty and devotion to our institutions cannot be questioned by any one. This is the new angle to which attention is now being called.

AS AN ILLUSTRATION of this angle the New York American says editorially: "The Negro is no menace. He is loyal. He is a willing soldier in war and a productive worker in peace. But the yellow man is a menace. He is not and he cannot become an American. He remains a Chinese or Japanese, and in the case of the Japanese his whole loyalty is to Japan, in peace and in war." It is thus conceded that our forefathers were brought here against their will and hence we have no other country and therefore are morally and legally entitled to residence and citizenship here.

THE EDITORIAL further says: "If such a thing were possible—and no sane white man dreams of it—the expelled Negroes would have no land to go to, no home to seek, no place of refuge." If this viewpoint were taken by all white Americans there would no longer be a race problem in the United States so far as concerns the white American and our group, for it is unquestionably true that we are full-fledged American citizens, loyal to American institutions and having no claim upon any other country or government.

BUT SINCE we are identified with an oppressed race we cannot sympathize with or indorse any movemen or proposition having for its object or purpose the exclusion of any other race or group from our shores solely on race grounds. As American citizens we are necessarily in favor of such restrictions and limitations covering the subject of immigration as will exclude undesirables, whatever their race or nationality may be. It is a fact that most of our domestic troubles are due to the lawless acts of foreigners who come from other countries than Japan or China. What we ought to do, therefore, is to exclude all whose presence is likely to be a menace to the safety of our institutions and not merely because of their racial identity.

SPEAKING of genuine Americanism, the question may be appropriately asked, who is the true or genuine American? The answer would necessarily be, the Indian, who is not a white man. That this country therefore is a white man's country is such by conquest and not by priority of occupancy or purchase for a matter of that. It was a question of might and not one of right. Still, it is an accomplished fact, the equities of which are not now debatable. We have no ground of complaint as long as we are participants upon terms of equality in the exercise and enjoyment of the rights and privileges as such. It is a source of gratification and relief to us to find editorial expressions, such as quoted, which we hope reflects the dominant sentiment of white Americans.

## BLACK AND WHITE PORTUGUESE

New York Age
9/17/21

J. E. Chamberlin, a Boston newspaperman, writing in the New York *Evening Mail* has discovered that there are black and white Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands living on Cape Cod and other parts of Massachusetts. He also has discovered that as these dark skinned foreigners increased in numbers the white natives acquired a certain dislike for them and "began to talk very much as the Southern white people do." School districts were gerrymandered so as to put all the white children in one district and the black ones in another.

No tangible reason is given for this acquired dislike and prejudice, which was brought to public notice through an attempt to lynch two of the black Portugese charged with crime. This attempt was frustrated through the determined stand of the local officers backed up by the state constabulary. And now it is stated that there is not a shred of real evidence to connect the accused youths with the crime. Former Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis has undertaken their defense, which is pronounced "a circumstance which promises that they cannot be convicted in a Massachusetts court except upon positive evidence."

Mr. Chamberlin's account of these conditions existing in Massachusetts seems to constitute a severe arraignment of the whites of that section, especially when he sums up as follows:

> The subject of the supposed encroachments of this colored race is now a very sore one in southeastern Massachuesetts, and in the district where they are numerous one would almost suppose himself to be in South Carolina or Alabama. "The Bravas themselves are just the same, a rather attractive type of the African race. They generally possess quite regular features, though quite black in color, and they have many of the peculiar graces of the Latin race—to which, according to their own idea of the matter, they all belong. Their language is Portuguese, in which they speak and "orang" with extraordinary fluency and they do not readily tend to mix with the American Negroes. But our white people differentiate them sharply from the Madeira and Azores Portuguese, who are white and who have been so long established along our coast that they talk English through their noses and are not to be distinguished from genuine Mayflower descendants.

This differentiation on the ground of color only indicates that "our white people" have been bitten by some vagrant bug of colorphobia imported by way of Charleston or Mobile. These wandering insects travel as far South as Cuba and Porto Rico in order to spread the poison of color discrimination in climes hitherto free from it. Their propaganda in the North has long been open and notorious. Writers like Mr. Chamberlin can do much to defeat it by giving the real facts in such cases as reach the newspapers.

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The Dallas Express 9/17/21

## AGITATION.

Doubtless most people in the United States do not realize how much propaganda intended to excite resentment and disorder among the Negroes is being circulated through periodicals, and more subtle means, by such organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World. Now, agitation intended to stir up turmoil cannot, of course, be a benefit to anyone. The stimulating of people to think of themselves as belonging to different classes cannot help to bring about any satisfactory sense of quality. The Industrial Workers of the World deliberately tries to develop what it calls a class consciousness among the poor and ignorant, without realizing that it would be a limitation instead of a means of freedom. The Negroes themselves, therefore, including especialy their intelligent journalists, who deplore anarchistic agitation, need to resist such propaganda. While lynching and other violence must be overcome, certainly the stiring up of general misunderstanding, jealousies, and enmities is not the remedy for it. This agitation comes from those who do not understand the South and conditions that have to be dealt with there, and tends only to make the problem more serious.

The problem of agitation among the Negroes will not be solved, of course, by any mere resentment and attempt at suppression on the part of others. One of the first remedies must be a strictly enforced law against lynching. Those who see the danger of the incitement of the Negroes to violence must meet this danger first of all by calm reasoning and wise cooperation. This is the only preventive for any threatened war of classes. The process of education may seem to be slow, with only here a little of the truth presented to the attention of those concerned, and there a little. Yet the way of presentation of the basis on which races can live side by side in harmony can be adapted to the various types of people who are to be convinced. Among the Negroes themselves the first to be reached by the presentation of the right way to cooperate are the intelligent leaders of that race who will know how to be of real service to the many.

When a magazine, evidently controlled by the Industrial Workers of the World, give a whole page to the words, "America the Home of Lynching," another page to an oath phrased in inflammatory language, and some six more of its pages to similar statements, it is surely not of a type to be helpful either to Negroes or to other people in the remedying of wrongs. When, however, it says, among other things, that "Negroes should read, read," it is giving good advice, though reading, to be beneficial in the working out of social problems, must consist of books dealing with affairs in a constructive way. The books advertised in this particular magazine are of the sort to rouse passions and bring about general turmoil. In fact, the flamboyant style of the itself is evidently modeled on that of some of the books which it advertises. This particular magazine is merely typical of many which are being circulated. Though there need be no suppression of opinions in a democracy, there is the right way in which false opinions can be replaced with an understanding of the truth. In a democracy there is for all the way of justice, which can never be found in any form of anarchy. The discernment and achievement of this may seem slow, but it can be proved to be sure. The Negroes themselves need to understand that any injustice done them cannot be overcome by mere words inflamed with hatred. A great mass of words, without any basis of sound meaning, is dangerous rather than helpful, and is to be avoided by those for whom it is intended.—Christian Science Monitor.

# PRESIDENT HARDING AND THE NEGRO

Christian Advocate 7/7/21.

What hopes are held out by the Harding Administration, particularly by Mr. Harding himself, for ameliorating the condition of the Negro. This question is insistent, imminent; it clutters our thinking.

The Southwestern does not believe that the coming of Mr. Harding to the presidency brings the millenium to the Negro in American life. But we do have faith in Mr. Harding, and we believe under him the race will make new gains.

True, not much of a beginning has yet been made in this direction. To the contrary, some things done, have boded ill and provoked a degree of discouragement. We trust the incumbency of Mr. Taft as Supreme Justice will not prove one of those disheartening things. Though, Mr. Taft has yet to convince the Negro of his genuine unbiased attitude of friendship or even sense of justice and fair play for the Negro. But let us hope!

Associated Press dispatches announce the nomination by Mr. Harding of Henry Lincoln Johnson as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia. While in a sense this is a gain for the race, it, nevertheless, but gives back that which we formerly possessed. So that at present there is practically an equilibrium in the situation which makes it difficult to infer what the administration's policy will be toward the race.

**Our hope is in the splendid personality of the President and the spirit of democracy that is all-pervading in modern society, in which America is the moral leader. We simply cannot believe that Mr. Harding can be, or will be, disposed to be heedless to the moral imperative of the New Age.**

We certainly hope that President Harding will not expend his good intentions toward the Negro and undertake to fulfill his solemn and hope-inspiring pledges made the Negro, by effusions of the usual stereotyped advices to the Negro to "be good," "be patient," "don't be ambitions," "the black man's greatest enemy is himself" "stay out of politics," refrain from "those things which exasperate your neighbors," and "the Southern white man is your best frend," etc. All of which stuff is not only hoary with age but is highly offensive to the New Negro, because he is thinking.

Whatever may be thought and said and whatever the policy of the parties, the sections and the races, **the chief and almost only substantial gain for the Negro in the civilization of the present is that he shall get position and place and power in the operation of the civic and political affairs of the nation.** This is the big gain that must be made. Political serfdom must be thrown off. Every thinking man knows this now. We have reached the impasse in the solution of the race problem until this is attained. All else is but strolling leisurely on the beach. The ocean must be sailed. President Harding can launch our bark. No race is good enough to govern another race without that race's consent. The best proven government is the representative type. As long as the Negro lives in this country governed by another race, with no voice in municipal government, or State government, or Federal government, so long will he be a mere pawn in the game. Belated, befogged, berated, bespattered, bedraggled, he will become a confirmed underclass, the matter-of-course prey of the prejudiced and the unjust. The best defense against the injustices of our present social order is to dignify the race in the eyes of the Nation by giving it some share in its own government.

**If Mr. Harding would help the race, let him initiate legislation that will give the race equitable and proportionate recognition in all matters of government; let him appoint competent Negroes to dignified posts of service for the Nation; let him contribute to the Negroes' security in the Nation by putting the Negro where he can help defend and develop himself.** This will go counter to tradition. It will transgress policy; it will transcend prejudice. But since it must be done some day as the only solution to the race problem in the Nation, let it be done today. Give the race its rightful shore in the Nation's government!

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## VIRTUOUS MISSISSIPPI.

N.Y. Age 7/2/21.

Congressman Johnson of Mississippi rose in the House of Representatives a few days ago to express his deep concern regarding the morals of the women of Washington. The representative from Mississippi not only condemned the conduct of the women in the Nation's capitol, but held up before them for their emulation the impeccable women of his own Bayou State.

This deep concern of Mr. Johnson has resulted in a bill which he introduced in Congress that proposes to fine women $25.00 for the first time they are caught smoking in a public place, and $100.00 for each subsequent offense.

It developed that the Mississippi reformer was impelled to take this action by an incident which he related as follows:

> "I have long objected to seeing women smoke in public, but the last straw came last night when I was walking on 'F' street in front of a moving picture theatre. I saw a young lady take a cigarette out of the hand of a young man she was walking with and take a puff herself."

It is difficult to estimate how a sight of this kind must have shocked the gentle and refined feelings of the Mississippian. In speaking of his bill, Mr. Johnson declared that in his opinion, smoking is even worse than whiskey for women. He declares that the practice would contaminate the race. He expressed the belief that his bill would be supported because a good many men felt as he did on the matter. He expressed his feelings as follows:

> "I was brought up to reverence women, but I must confess my respect for women drops when I see them smoking."

The Mississippi Solon bases the legality of his measure upon the ground that smoking by women comes under police powers. It is, we should judge, a rather fine question in law to decide how smoking by women can be brought under police power and smoking by men cannot. Women are now, under the Constitution, equal citizens with men and it is doubtful whether such class legislation as is proposed by Congressman Johnson would stand a real test in the Courts.

We hold no brief for women smokers, but we do contend that smoking by women is not a question of morals, which so many seem to think, but a question of manners and, perhaps, of health. So far as morals go, a woman is no worse for smoking than is a man. The question of manners is entirely different.

It may be not contrary to good manners for a man to smoke and it may be bad manners for a woman to smoke. But manners change just as do styles, and what is considered bad manners in one generation may not be so considered in another.

It was not many years ago when it was considered bad manners for a man to smoke while walking in the streets with a lady. Manners do not control morals, but on the other hand, manners are an outgrowth of morals. You cannot make people moral by laying down certain rules of behavior. But moral people behave in a certain way.

But we did not start out to argue the pros and cons of this question. We started out to comment upon the reaction of indignation which has taken place in the breast of the Honorable Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi. We marvel a bit at the degree of indignation and surprise which Mr. Johnson expresses in view of the fact that probably fifty per cent. of the old women in Mississippi

Race Problem – 1921.
United States.

(From Over)

sit around either in chimney corners or on front porches and puff on their pipes. This has been a habit in Southern states for a century or more. Is it that the cigarette is considered devilish and the pipe respectable?

Mr. Johnson went on to say:

> "Regulating smoking by women comes under police power, and, as is well known, police powers are practically without limit. Down in my state we have a law that a man shall not curse in the presence of women. I have punished many a man under that law, and it is held to be constitutional."

This statement of Mr. Johnson reveals a curious complex, a complex with which 98 per cent of all Southern men are afflicted. He says that down in his state a man is punished by law for cursing in the presence of a woman, and he implies that this chivalrous regard for the women—that is, the white women—of Mississippi, is based upon a purity on their part which places them above the cigarette-smoking women of Washington, and, naturally of the cities farther to the north.

This often boasted chilvary of the Southern white man is nothing but sheer bunk. The Southern white man has recited this tradition of Southern chilvary for so long that he has come to believe the lie himself. There is no part in the United States in which there is less genuine regard for womanhood than there is in the South. For long years the aristrocrats of the South, men who made this boast of chivalry traditional kept their colored mistresses and concubines with their children under the very eyes of their own wives.. Men in the North and men in the West may do similar actions, but they do have the decency to try to hide the shame from their wives.

The Mississippians may have a law which prohibits a man from cursing in the presence of a woman, but not yet have they thought it worth the while to pass a law which will prohibit the Mississippi men from carrying their wives and little children to see a human being burned alive. We are sick of hearing the boastings of these narrowminded, bigoted, prejudiced, brutal, bloodthirsty people with their pretensions that they are better than anybody else in the country. They ought to be held up to the ridicule which they deserve.

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# Bolshevism Is T atening Negroes, Says Churchman

ELLINGHAM W ERALD
JULY 8, 1921

### White Race Slow To Liquidate Indentedness "Laid Up In Hig Heaven" By Colored Race, Says Rev. J. H. Shields—Antidote Extension of Church Schools, Says Report.

Bringing out the necessity of more efforttowards Christian teaching among the negroes of this country, to offset the dark cloud of bolshevism that threatens the colored race, an illuminating paper was read by Rev. J. H. Shields, of Asotin, before the Presbyterian synod at its session this morning at the First Presbyterian church. Dr. Shields also gave statistics showing the lack of interest taken by various states in appropriating finances for the education of colored children.

"The work of the freedmen's board is manifestly of great importance," said the speaker. "Every tenth person in our country is either a negro or a mulato. Its work is in an eminent sence a work of Americanization.

"They have a score of indebtedness laid up in high heaven against the white race, which we are very slow to liquidate, so slow that our great church gives less than $400,00 annually to its cause."

Dr. Shields also stated that the synod of Washington last year only gave $2,615 to freedmen. Less than half of the churches throughout the country made any contribution. He also told of the work in the schools erected by the churches for the education of the colored people.

"When we consider how little has been done for them in the South, where most of them live," continued Dr. Shields, "the call seems more imperative.

"There is just one dark cloud hovering over the negro people," he concluded. "That is, the new negro, so-called. Thereare a few influential men among the negroes, a good part of them educated, who are advising these people, because of the injustice meted out to them in the past and the indignities still heaped upon them, to take up socialism, verging on I. W. W.ism. They seem to have more success than we would like to be lieve. They preach class war and the identification with the working class solidarity and revolution as the only solution of the negro question.

"The antidote for this now dangerous phase of the negro race question can be solved in no other way so well as boosting our schools among the freedmen; also the schools of other Christian nenominations."

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# ARKANSAS RACE "LEADER" ADVOCATES SEGREGATION

Chicago 8/27/21
Defender

Little Rock, Ark., Aug. 26.—W. A. Singfield, local Race attorney, declared at the First Baptist church in a speech on "Race Prejudice—Its Causes and Effects," that he was in favor of the Jim Crow law, as it tended to keep the two races from seeking social equality and also tended to keep the races more intact. His hearers (Baptists), gathered together to celebrate the seventeenth annual jubilee and including delegates from all parts of the South, were astounded.

Continuing, Singfield asserted: "The Race man must face this proposition (race prejudice in the South). He cannot escape it by going into the North, for the Race man of the North has a much more difficult problem. The Race man of the South has to fight for what he gets, but the Race of the North has to fight to retain what he has."

Singfield denounced lynchings, explaining that every time a mob of 2,000 lynched one criminal they made of themselves 2,000 more and passed on to posterity the psychological effect which is branded on the present generation. In referring to the Ku Klux Klan he advocated a policy of non-resistance. The attacks which the secret organization has made upon whites were taken to indicate that it was not dangerous. No mention was made of the fact that the Klan could be just as lawless persecuting whites as in its oppression against Race men and women.

The white man as well as Race men, he held to be accountable for a number of abuses, but announced that it would be up to the better class of both races to see that the two races are kept in segregation. Many here have labeled Singfield a "head-rag" leader since his address.

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N. Y. C. OUTLOOK
SEPTEMBER 14, 1921

# THE RACE PROBLEM

THERE are three articles in this issue of The Outlook which cast light upon the race problem in America. One of these, by a white Southerner, is a striking tribute to the spirit and character of the Negro. Another, by a Negro leader who has been chosen to bear the burden of responsibility bequeathed by Booker T. Washington, is an account of the growing spirit of co-operation which has manifested itself between the two races in certain sections of the South. The third is by Natalie Curtis, a student of primitive music and primitive art, and, while it does not deal directly with the problems discussed in the other articles, it still has a bearing upon the question of race relations in its hint of latent powers which only await sympathetic development and opportunity.

There will be many who will disagree with Mr. Rutledge in the emphasis which he lays upon one of the causes of lynching, but if he has erred in placing too much reliance upon one popular belief he has more than made up for it by enunciating other beliefs which ought to be more popular than they are. In such sympathy and understanding as Mr. Rutledge manifests and in such a policy of co-operation as is laid down in Dr. Moton's article lies whatever solution of the race problem is to be found. The principles underlying these pleas for understanding are applicable in the North as well as in the South. The record of racial disorders in the North during the past few years has shown that the possibilities for conflict are not confined to any one geographical or political division of the United States.

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Chicago

# Fortune Inherited by Worker Helps Solve the Race Question

Defender
9/10/21

Waterloo, Iowa, Sept. 9.—Leonard Wright, who has been employed in the Illinois Central shops in this city for some time, has been notified that he has inherited a fortune from the estate of his father. He will come into possession of considerable money and valuable stocks in the United States and a large tract of land in India. His fortune is estimated at $233,000.

Leaving his native land a number of years ago to make his fortune in this country, Wright has struggled along without realizing his ambition. His color greatly injured his chances for advancement in America.

He worked for some time as fireman on the Union Pacific, but color prejudice forced him to seek other employment. He was a member of the Canadian army during the world war and held the commission of second lieutenant at the close of the struggle. He came to this city shortly after the war and worked in the Illinois Central shops.

Wright, before leaving this city for Kansas City, received $56,000 in shares of stock in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and in a number of mining and oil concerns.

He declared before leaving this city that the attitude of the whites changed when they heard of his good fortune.

# VIEWS and REVIEWS

By James Weldon Johnson, Contributing Editor

New York Age 7/9/21

## "THE PASSING OF THE GREAT WHITE RACE."

It may be difficult for some of our readers in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Florida not to think that the heading of this article is a quotation from a lunatic; nevertheless, "The Passing of the Great White Race" is a question which is being seriously discussed.

Several years ago a book entitled "The Passing of the Great White Race" attracted considerable attention. It was not written by a yellow jorunalist or a sensational author, it was written by a serious and scholarly man, Madison Grant, chairman of the New York Zoological Society, a trustee of the American Museum of Natural History and Councillor of the American Geographical Society.

One of the most talked of books last year was, "The Rising Tide of Color," by Lothrop Stoddard, a Harvard Ph. D., and the author of many books on world politics.

The object of both these books was to arouse the white peoples of the world to the danger to white world-supremacy. Mr. Grant approached the subject from a biological and historical point of view while Mr. Stoddard approached it by a consideration of political and economic forces now at work. Both authors, however, sounded the same warning, that the decline of white world-supremacy and the submergence of the white race were not only possibilities but probabilities.

And now comes an organization whose avowed purpose is to "save the white race." This organization is the Anglo-Latino-Slav League with headquarters at 161 East Twenty-Third street, New York. The president of the League is Maj. Gen. Count A. Cherep-Spiridovich. Gen. Spiridovich is making an effort to convince the people of the United States that unless this country takes the lead along the lines indicated by the League, the white race is doomed. The Anglo-Latino-Slav League also has headquarters in Paris, Rome and Lisbon.

From an article in a New York newspaper we clip the following paragraph, which gives a brief summary of the reasons for the establishment of the "A. L. S." League.

> The passing of the Great White Race is not a new idea. Students of the races and mankind, of natural history, of geography, of civilization, have expandede this idea, and have demonstrated in quite a satis factory manner, by birth statistics, by the law of fecundity and by the greed and ambition of nations that the White Race in the march of years must succumb to the domination of the Colored Race—unless some preponderant plan of prevention be devised by the Great White Race now dominant.

The same article from which the above paragraph was clipped pointed out the following comparisons between the Great White Race and the Great Colored Race: that the white world today consists of Europe, the Siberian part of Asia, Australia, North America to the Rio Grande, and the southern part of South America; and that the colored world takes in practically the whole of Africa, the greater part of Asia, and the larger portion of South America and Central America; that the white races occupy 22,000,000 square miles; and that the colored races occupy 31,000,000 square miles; that the white people number about 550,000,000 while the colored number about 1,150,000,000.

The Anglo-Latino-Slav League declares that dissension among the white races has brought about the impending danger, and it proposes by a closely organized union of these races to guarantee and perpetuate white-supremacy. It proposes to do this by carying out the following program:

1. Cementing a close friendship between Anglo-Saxons, Latins, and Slavs by increasing and facilitating their religious, moral, political, financial and economic relations.
2. Creating an impregnable union of peoples, in order to make a new war impossible, at east among the White Races.
3. Placing on a moral basis the international relations of the peoples.
4. Dissipating the prejudices fostered against the above three races.
5. Introducing English as an international world language, in order to facilitate the brotherhood of nations and their "Americanization."
6. Revealing the truth about Bolshevism as a most pestilent disease.
7. Preventing Germany from "militarizing" 170,000,000 sentimental Slavs. The Membership in the League will be like "moral handcuffs" for them.
8. Eliminating the German language and influence from Latin and Slav countries, and extirpating the German cancer of a "Deutschland Ueber Alles." Only the "A. L. S." League, by the way of its Prague, Posen, Warsaw and Vilna branches, can emancipate from Teutons without bloodshed the Letto-Lithuanians (Old Prussians) and the Wends (Slavs) and thus decrease the Teutonic hopes for revenge. This is the *only way* to end Prussian Junkerdom and militarism.
9. Opening the markets for the coming "super-production" here, and obtaining for the increasing production a supply of raw materials. "America's ability depends upon an organization which will make certain the control of markets," the statesmen here affirm, and the "A. L. S." League is such an organization. "Slavia" is the United States' best source of unlimited supply.
10. Pacifying all kinds of political troubles and preventing wars, bloodshed and pogroms.

In some respects the proposed remedy contains as much power for making trouble as the disease. The League will find this out as soon as it attempts to force the English language on the Latins and the Slavs. It will also find out that Germany on the outside will be a constant source of danger.

In fact, the idea behind the "A. L. S."League will not work. There is no possible way of cementing a union of the white races. The sort of civilization which the white races have eolved and to which they are bound will not permit of union. The key note of modern white civilization is greed, and greed and union cannot go together. These different white races, and even different white nations of the same race, will continue to intrigue against each other and to war against each other again and again until what was begun in the last war will be finished—the exhaustion of the White Race. Some other plan than the one of the Anglo-Latin-Slav League—that is, a revolutionary change in white civilization, will e needed to save the White Race.

But looking at the mess of things which the Great White Race as made, there are reasonable doubts as to whether or not it is orth saving.

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# FEDERAL CHURCH COUNCIL TO SOLV RACE PROBLEM BY CONSOLIDATIN MUTUAL EFFORTS OF BOTH RACE

New York News. 7/23/21

### Commission to Deal With Relations of Whites and Colore Both Socially and Industrially Throughout Country—Develop Public's Conscience

New York.—In order to consolidate the influence of the churches in bringing about better relations between the white and Negro races in the United States, the Federal Council of Churches of Christian America has established a new commission on Negro churches and race relations, under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan of Atlanta, Georgia, president of the Atlantic Council of Churches. A vice-chairman is to be named from the Negro churches. The commission includes about 1,000 leading representatives of the white and Negro churches, the majority resident in the south. In view of the recent riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the revival of the Ku-Klux Klan, and disclosures concerning Negro peon-

Race Problem – 1921.
United States.

(From over)

age, this commission is considered timely.

At the initial meeting held recently in Washington, District of Columbia, it was agreed that the churches cannot accept the frequent statements that inter-racial conflict is inevitable, that the races should be segregated, that they should be amalgamated, or that any race is meant to have special privileges which are to be denied to others. The Christian solution, the committee agreed, lies in the races living together in mutual helpfulness, service and good will. The general problem of work formulated included the assertion of the sufficiently of the Christian solution of religions in American and the duty of all churches to consider carefully this question; provision of a central clearing house and meeting place for churches and all Christian agencies dealing with race relations, and encouragement and support of their activities along this line; promotion of mutual confidence and acquaintance both nationally and locally between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Christian educators and others for consideration of common problems, alignment of the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence, and enlistment of their support in a campaign of education for at least five years; the securing and distribution of accurate knowledge of racial relations and racial attitudes in general and consideration of particular situations; development of a public conscience to secure suitable provisions for the education, housing, recreation, etc., of the Negro, to support the commission of inter-racial cooperation in its efforts to establish local inter-racial committees, and to secure the presentation of the race relations problem at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the country.

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ROME GA TRIBUNE-HERALD

JULY 21, 1921

# Agitating the Negro Question

There is no doubt of the fact that it is constant agitation of the negro question by both whites and negroes that is responsible for it being a live issue. Most of the trouble is caused by white men in the North who basely turn against their own race and urge the negroes on to acts of aggression, and by negroes who publish negro publications in such cities as New York, Chicago and other large cities of the North, who keep the fires of race hatred burning in this country.

The white men who are egging the negroes on, for political purposes, have assumed a great responsibility~~, a~~ responsibility that if they were capable of a proper realization of what they are doing, should make them quake with fear. The negroes who print the incendiary newspapers and scatter them broadcast among their own race are merely laying the foundation for an upheaval that will result in the destruction of that race in this country.

For some of these days an outbreak will occur in some quarter of the country that will gather sufficient momentum to inflame the minds of people the country over. Then will come the cataclysm. The result will be the elimination of the negroes from this country to all intents and purposes. If the negro leaders had any sense they would see the yawning gulf towards which they are drifting, but most of them do not appear to be able to see beyond their noses. However, we are glad to say there are a few of these leaders who do recognize the danger, they are aware of the responsibilities which they are under, both to their own race and the country and have done much by wise counsel and conservative endeavor towards quieting the situation, and preventing trouble.

Constant agitation of the negro question is the cause of much of the trouble. The negro question should be let alone. The best minds of the country during the past forty years have been unable to offer any solution of the problem. It is a problem that will have to be worked out as we go along. We must adjust conditions as they face us. There has not yet been offered any broad comprehensive plan for working out the whole situation satisfactorily and there is not likely to be.

If white political agitators at the North would let the negro alone, and if foolish propagandists among their own race would close their mouths, it is our opinion that the negro question would gladly work itself out and would cease to be a live issue in this country

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Chicago Defender 3/5

## ANITA WHITNEY

MISS CHARLOTTE ANITA WHITNEY, a member of an old, well known California family, was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to from one to fourteen years in San Quentin penitentiary after addressing the Oakland Civic Center of Oakland, Cal., on the Negro problem. There was considerable fuss, the report says, as to whether Miss Whitney was going to be permitted to make her address on account of the very prominent part which she had taken in the affairs of the Communist Labor party in Oakland. Most of her associates had already been arrested, but it is thought that Miss Whitney was allowed to escape on account of her high social position and the fact that she was a woman.

Just as soon as she had the temerity to touch our problem, however, the real trouble began. It is said that she treated her topic from the radical point of view. That, of course, settled it. When the storm cleared away and she had made her address she was arrested on the charge of "criminal syndicalism"—whatever that may mean in California. This would seem to make it perfectly clear that neither rightness, social position, sex nor anything else stands in the way of our enemies. There are no medals or crowns to be won by white people who espouse our cause, unless the crown is one of thorns.

Yet the task is one which must be assumed by clear-headed, far-seeing white men and women who must realize that this problem which their fathers have been dodging or ignoring is not so much our affair as it is a question of the preservation of the very foundation of this government and the ideals of the Revolutionary fathers. We face America as the rock upon which the ship of state must build for a larger future of service to the world, or upon which the dreams of Adams, Jefferson, Hay, Lincoln and Roosevelt must forever be wrecked. America cannot afford to let the democratic ideal be proved or adjudged a failure because she is unwilling to accord justice to an economically weaker group. We will not be denied. We will not despair. We will strive. We will work on. We will have faith. We will contend. We will evangelize America and bring her to her duty to herself, to the world and to us. We need only to have something of that spirit of Anita Whitney when after her conviction and sentence she said: "I hoped it would never come to this, but I could not have done differently. The path was straight before me and I walked it. That was all. There was no other way."

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The Standard Columbia S.C. 7/29/21

## FALLACY

If conditions are becoming better for the Negro in the South God hasten the time when he can understand it so. Our interest and our people are here and we love the South but it does not take a man with a microscopic vision to see that the tension is being drawn tighter and tighter each day. Mr. Washington use to say that the solvent of the race question is brick houses and bank accounts, but we have live to see the fallacy of such a statement. The Negro has gone him one better and have banks, whole blocks and brick houses augumented with oil wells and property on which oil wells are likely to be operated. This seems to add oil to the flame and now the Negro who respects himself and tries to have something incites the maledictions of a certain class who are ever anxioous to preserve "white supremacy" and this class of Negroes are called "impudent."

When we think of how defenseless the Negro is in this country and more so in the South we are lost to know how any Negro with an ounce of sense can say that conditions are better. It would be well for any Negro who makes such statements send for the members of his family who are living in the North, East or West and tell them to come back to the ednic habitat, where "lasses" drops from the trees where "White folks will pat you on the back and call you a good **"Nigger.'**

When our men are driven away from their women and a white wrestles with a Negro woman with intent to assault and the officers come and finds the assailant tugging still in an effort to carry out his hellish intent and the jury deliberates 21 hours and acqurts the white man; when the first man to pay the supreme sacrifice, is a Negro in the greatworld war and from the same county the first man lynched is a soldier who fought for the freedom of the world in the face of the fact that court was to convene in two days, we fail to see conditions as described by the "White folks" prophet to "to colored people."

We are praying that God will arise up friends for the race from among the people of superior training, ecnturies of opportunity to help salvage a race whose enemies are using every subterfuge to impede the progress of the people who have proved their loyalty to the country and devotion to the race who for centuries have been their superiors in training and influence.

While we are making slow progress to the elimination of racial prejuce, political right and industrial equality, we have faith in the God of Abraham, Issaic and Jacob who deals justly with all mankind.

Race Problem — 1921.
United States

# RACE ADJUSTMENT PRINCIPAL TOPIC DISCUSSED AT A. M. E. CHURCH BISHOPS' COUNCIL

## Organic Union Warmly Discussed

## MANY BISOPS IN ATTENDANCE

## Connectional Council Comprised of Heads of Departments Also Held Session.

— 6/2/21
Savannah Tribune

Chicago, Ill., June 29th (Associated Negro Press)—Racial Adjustment was the principal topic discussed at the A. M. E. Church's Bishops' Council which closed its annual meeting here last Saturday morning. The Council met in the old historic Bethel church and the sessions were largely attended by the public. Organic Union and Fraternal Union were the other big topics discussed.

The question of Organic Union with other large bodies of Methodists was the most warmly debated by the Council. While the question was laid aside for the present it was earnestly presented as one of "the more vital questions now confronting Methodism thruout the world.

On the other hand, Fraternal Union was advocated, and the Secretary of the Council, Bishop Johnson of Philadelphia, was instructed to conduct such correspondence as would encourage the favorable action of all Methodists on this particular matter.

The Bishops in attendance at the Council were: Benjamin F. Lee, of Wilberforce, Ohio; Levi J. Coopin, of Philadelphia, Pa.; C. S. Smith, of Detroit, Mich.; William H. Heard, of Philadelphia, Pa.; John R. Hurst, of Baltimore, Md.; I. N. Ross, of Washington, D. C.; A. J. Carey, of Chicago Ill;. H. B. Parks, of Chicago, Ill., W W Beckett, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; W. D Chappelle, of Columbia, S. C.; J. M. Conner, of Little Rock, Ark.; W. D. Johnson, of Plains, Ga.; W. A Fountain, of Atlanta, Ga.; and J. Albert Johnson of Philadelphia, Pa.

The Connectional Council, comprised of the heads of departments of the church also held session during the week. Among the more prominent men in attendance were: Dr. Reverdy C. Ransom editor of the A. M. E. Church Review; Dr. John R. Hawkins, the general financial Secretary of the church; Dr. R. R. Wright, editor of the Christian Recorder, the official organ of the connection

**Seen And Heard At The Council**

All of the bishops were present except Bishops Tanner, Vernon and Brooks. Bishop Tanner was ill; Bishop Vernon was in Africa and Bishop Brooks was engaged in a record-breaking trip from Africa, in order to reach the Council on time. The delay of 24 hours in quarantine off New York, after a 20-day dash from the Black Continent was heartbreaking and the entire Council and Conference were watching his progress

The Connection Council reminded one very much of a political "pow-wow." The brethren were gathered in groups of twos and threes, rolling logs for the next general conference.

The venerable Bishop B. F. Lee the scholarly J. Albert Johnson, together with other associates on the bench lent an air of dignity to the occasion which Chicago appreciated. Bishop Levi J. Coppin was the active host and was seconded most ably by Bishop Archibald J. Carey, who because of his residence and power in Chicago, was able to turn the keys of the city over to the Council. He had mayor William Hale Thompson present them at the Quinn Chapel Welcome banquet, Rev. Stewart host.

The younger men were much in evidence. Rev. Noah W. Williams, brilliant pastor of Bethel of Louisville, was mentioned as the most likely candidate for missionary secretary. Financial Secretary John R. Hawkins had to return home before the session was over because of the illness of his wife.

Among the younger men who were active were the Rev. Charles Sumner Williams, Bethel Indianapolis; the Rev. Montrose Thornton, Bethel, New York; The Rev. John A. Greggs, Pres. Wilberforce, Ohio; Dr Carl Tanner, Washington, D. C., Metropolitan church; The Rev. J. A Hill, St Paul, Nashville; The Rev. A. S Jackson, Com. of Education; The Rev. H. A. Newsome, Selma, Ala.; The Rec S. S. Morris, Norfolk, General Secretary; The Rev. Ira T. Bryant carried a cane as large as himself and a dignity as great as any bishop.

A frequent topic was the commercial future of the Race, and great interest was manifested in the Christian Furniture Company, an organization for the manufacture of church furniture, stained glass, etc. The company is headed by Rev. R. W. C. Christian of Washington, D. C., who, for 20 years has been selling colored churches pipe organs and fixtures, running into fabulous sums yearly. The consensus of opinion as enthusiastically expressed at the banquet which the Rev. Christian tendered visiting ministers in the Hotel Vincennes Dinning Room, was that this venture offered one of the finest business opportunities the race has known. Many of the ministers subscribed for stock and became representatives. The offices of the company are located at 3425 Indiana ave.

Rev. Jamieson and Rev. M. F. Sydes of the $5,000,000 drive, were on the job J. E. Moorland, International Y. M. C. A Secretary was an interesting visitor Rev S T Birt and his flock at Bethel handled the sessions with efficiency and the Chicago "I Will" spirit Bishop Parks also at home, vied with Bishop Conner in radiating energy.

At the Christian Banquet were noted Bishop Heard, Rev. John Harmon, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. S. G. Baker, editor Messenger-Forum, Jacksonville, Fla.; Rev. L. R. Parker, Marietta, Ga.; Rev. R. H. Ward, Atlanta, Ga; R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia; Rev. G. W Williams, Dublin, Ga.; Rev C E Dubart, Sandersville, Ga.; Rev. T. J. Linton, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. D. A. Perrin Georgetown, S. C.; Solomon Porter Hood, Trenton, N. J.; Rev. Jno. J. Morant, Vicksburg, Miss.; Rev. N. W. Williams and many others.

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# INTER-RACIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT TUTWILER HOTEL; DR. BARNETT WRITES EXPLAINING THE PLANS

Birmingham Reporter 6/18/21.

Dr. Frank Willis Barnett, special feature writer on the Birmingham Age-Herald, discussed a luncheon at the Tutwiler Hotel Friday, June 10, in his letter to the Age-Herald Sunday morning. Dr. Barnett explained the purpose of the conference and emphasized certain relations that must exist between the races. He spoke of the colored people in a most kindly manner. A portion of the letter is here printed:

"A luncheon at the Tutwiler Friday in the private dining room brought together some representative men and women from all parts of the state who are interested in better race relations. John D. Rather, Jr., of Tuscumbia, is chairman of the Inter-Racial Committee and Judge H. L. Anderton is the secretary. The membership is made up of well known names in public and private life who have always shown the disposition to bring about better relations between the two races in the South.

The dinner was given with a view to hearing primarily a general presentation of the Inter-Racial Plan by Dr. W. W. Alexander. A talk from President Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, and a report from Judge H. L. Anderton, the secretary. Dr. Alexander, of Atlanta, was present but Dr. Moton was unable to appear with the colored delegation but sent a representative and also a lengthy telegram setting out his interest in the meeting. The speaking followed the luncheon when the colored delegation was present.

There were 50 or more in attendance to hear the addresses and reports and to confer in regard to co-operating more fully with the state inter-racial committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. Among the many distinguished members I was glad to see Drs. Denny, Dowell, Abercrombie and Phillips, showing that the men occupying a key position in the educational affairs of Alabama were keenly alive to their opportunities and ready to assume their full responsibility in furthering the aims of the movement.

There were lawyers, preachers, doctors, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, farmers and quite a few women known throughout the length and breadth of the state for their interest in every uplift movement to create just the needed atmosphere for such a conference and discussion; ninety-five per cent or more of those present being southern born and the sprinkling of those from the other side of the Mason and Dixon line.

Through the whole proceedings emphasis was put on the fact that it is a southern movement, and that the north is waiting on the south for leadership in the matter. It was refreshing to know that at last the thinking men in the east and the west had come to the realization that the quickest and surest way to establish better relations between the Negroes and the whites was to leave the settlement in the hands of those who had had the longest experience and who really had at heart the interest of the colored brother.

One of the best talks made at the luncheon was that of W. H. Stockham, who, while from the north, has lived in Alabama long enough to understand conditions here. He spoke as no theorist, but as a large employer of Negro labor in his great plant, and to hear him speak a good word for the ability and integrity of hundreds of Negroes in his employ as workmen and as citizens was heartening to those who wish to see the race develop along industrial lines as well as in citizenship.

The leading address of Dr. Alexander was sane, and gave evidence that the leading spirits behind the inter-racial movement are men and women of vision and sanity, and are working along Christian and economic lines which will have a wide influence in solving the problem which presses hard throughout the country as to the best way in which to keep down race friction and prevent such outbreaks as recently took place at Tulsa.

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## FOUGHT TO SAVE THE UNION

## —NOT TO FREE THE SLAVE

Journal + Guide 6/11/21

When the Civil War was raging, and President Lincoln was urged and nagged to free the slave by proclamation, and especially irritated by the insistence and authoritative speechment of Horace Greeley, the vitriolic editor of the *New York Tribune*, the President wrote the latter, bluntly, that it was not his purpose to destroy slavery but his supreme purpose to save the Union. The rank and file of the Union armies were actuated by the same principle. Indeed, it is supposed that a majority of them were opposed to freeing the slave.

And, yet, it is a solemn fact that there would have been no war if there had been no slavery, and that the Republican party was created for the purpose of curbing the slave power within the slave States, and that there would have been no Republican party if there had been no slave power to curb and confine in the Slave States; the logic of the outcome being prophetically stated by Mr. Lincoln in one of the Douglas debates, that "this Nation cannot exist half slave and half free." Abolition of slavery was a necessary sequence to defeat of the Confederate armies

In his Arlington address on Decoration Day President Harding placed himself squarely in line with the position laid down by Mr. Lincoln, in the following:

> "They did not enter upon the war among the States with primary purpose to end the institution of human slavery. Worthy as that might have been, their inspiration was higher. They sought first to maintain the Union, to keep it a power for the advancement of America and humanity, confident that if they won, all other rightful things in due time would be achieved. They were right then; in the end slavery received its decree of banishment from this continent, and at last from the world."

When the great men of a Nation read history without inspiration and fail to recognize the signs given them for guidance, it places the Nation in a false position, and opens a wide path for the acceptance of error, and compromise with error, in dealing with the complex conditions growing, necessarily, out of any crisis. That has happened to the Republican party and its leaders from the beginning in dealing with the slave power and the readjustments necessary after the slave power had been whipped on the fields.

The Republican party has never undertaken to settle the questions growing out of the Civil War, as they relate to the Afro-American people, in a spirit to settle them according to the Constitutional principles of law and equity. Until that is done the Nation will continue to rock like a ship shaken by a furious tempest.

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## IGNORANCE OF HISTORY.

New York Age 6/11/21

The study of history should be emphasized as a matter of vital importance for statesmen and those dealing with governmental affairs. Ignorance of the deeds of the men who fought battles and handled affairs of state in the past is apt to put their modern successors in an awkward light, when they attempt to extol their characters and justify their policies, evidently knowing or caring little about either.

The latest example of this kind of ignorance of the past was furnished by Secretary Denby of the Navy Department in a Memorial Day address delivered at Beaufort, S. C. After extolling the courage, generosity and firm conviction of right which he said inspired the leaders and men of both sides in the war between the States, Mr. Denby was reported as adding:

> "I am a Northerner and my father wore the eagles on the uniform of blue, but first I am an American, and you cannot take from me my heritage of pride in Lee and Jackson and Pickett and your own beloved Forrest. They were Americans, too—and mine own people! Their skill and their deeds of daring are mine to glory in."

Mr. Denby's adulation of Lee and Jackson and Pickett might be passed over as the attempt of a Northern Republican to make himself acceptable to his Southern hosts although it probably did not raise him in their estimation. But to include "your own beloved Forrest," the infamous butcher of Fort Pillow, in the same category was an insult to the other three named, as well as to the host of Union heroes both dead and living.

If Mr. Denby wants to know how the deeds of Forrest were regarded by a true American patriot, he should consult the "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant," who as Mr. Denby may know was a famous Union general who was afterward elected for two terms as President of the United States. On page 138, volume II, General Grant referred to the Massacre of Fort Pillow, in the following terms:

> The garrison consisted of a regiment of colored troops, infantry, and a detachment of Tennessee cavalry. These troops fought bravely but were overpowered. I will leave Forrest in his dispatches to tell what he did with them.
>
> "The river was dyed," he says, "with the blood of the slaughtered for two hundred yards. The approximate loss was upward of five hundred killed, but few of the officers escaping. My loss was about twenty killed. It is hoped that these facts will demonstrate to the Northern people that Negro soldiers cannot cope with Southerners."
>
> Subsequently Forrest made a report in which he left out the part which shocks humanity to read.

Forrest survived the War on the Rebellion to inspire the organization of the band of cowardly midnight marauders known as the Ku Klux Klan. If that is the kind of Southern hero whose deeds the head of the Navy Department selects to glory in, it is clear to be seen why he will hear no charges brought against the rule of the United States marines in Haiti.

The study of the history of the United States should prove a mine of useful and instructive information for the American statesman of today.

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## "THE DEMAND OF AFRICANISM

**White Northern editor becomes "Southern" in views when members of our Race demand democracy which they fought for in France.**

Chicago Whip 5/[illegible]/21

A delegation of Negroes representing the National Race Congress of America has just presented to President Harding a memorial asking that segregation of blacks and whites in the executive departments of the United States government be abolished and also that the federal government use its power against lynching, peonage, restriction of Negro suffrage and Jim Crow regulations.

Lynching should, of course, be stamped out everywhere and by all available means. Peonage—a species of slavery—is likewise entirely indefensible. The other features of the appeal, however, present different considerations.

The Negroes as a race have made noteworthy advances in many respects since the days of Civil war emancipation. Numbers have prospered materially. Some have become skilled mechanics and have acquired training and ability in other lines. Spiritual development has shown some improvement, but the advance is not comparatively great. Masses of the blacks live essentially in much the same condition as before the struggle that gave them freedom.

It is, of course, intolerable that ignorant and often degraded Africans should rule politically over educated and enlightened whites. The fact of proportionate numbers of individuals has nothing to do with the matter. It is a case of the best element ruling and the chief consideration is the greatest ultimate practical good to the world, not sentimental adherence to catch phrases of liberty, justice and equality.

The Negro is a great problem for America, but he is here and must be reckoned with in the future. He should have humane treatment, opportunity for education and development according to his abilities and the privilege of living in comfort and freedom as long as he conducts himself properly and does not interfere with others. But it must be remembered that America holds nearly 100,000,000 white citizens compared with about 14,000,000 blacks and the interests of the majority are necessarily paramount in a nation where the foundation principle is the greatest good of the greatest number. That greatest good is obtained by the rule of those most capable of ruling.

Great primitive facts are superior to certain laws, and petty legal enactments cannot disprove them or prevent their operation. Negro enfranchisement was forced onto the South in the bitter and vindictive days following the Civil War. The Colored man was, however, unfit to rule as the reconstruction days showed. Society finally righted itself and the Negro was held in check despite nominal statutes. Perhaps the need is to revise the entire system of federal and state laws governing Negro qualifications to vote and hold office in order to better define the qualifications and legally prevent unworthy blacks from ruling superior whites rather than to attempt to enforce a sentimental law despite the fact th[illegible] the black does not measure up to i[illegible] purported ideal.

As t[illegible]e segregation of blacks, there i[illegible] valid ground for argument. The Negro will be wise if he abandons his plea in that matter. There is no demand of justice by which a white man or woman can be forced into association with an Ethiopian which the former may find unpleasant. Liberty does not mean that the apparent mania of so many of the blacks for forcing themselves upon the whites should be permitted gratification. The Negro can have his realm and there is no necessary implication of inferiority or degradation in the system. The whites as a rule do not like close contact with the blacks. There is a distinct line of cleavage. It is for the interests of civilization and the perpetuity and progress of a great race like the Americans that this line be preserved with all strictness. Males and females are segregated under certain circumstances for the good of the race. A similar separation of radically differing elements like the Negroes and whites is also demanded by the best interests of society. If the reverse view were to be accepted it must be logically carried through the whole course of common fraternizing, intermarriage and the ultimate of a mongrel race of mixed white and Negro blood.

These problems have been most in evidence in the South, but the invasion of the North by the Negroes, especially during and since the world war, when the demand for workmen was keen, has brought the matter to Northern doors. The sentimental sympathy with the Negro which fails to take account of cold facts which has biased many views and actions in the North begins to alter when the question becomes a personal one. Northerners are coming to feel a new sympathy and common interest with their white brethren of the South. Northerners removing to the South usually become in a short time ultra Southern in their attitude toward the Negro problem.

The Negro has been given many liberties in the North undreamed of by him south of Mason and Dixon's line. There has been a tendency to overstep the bounds, as well, and the growl of disapproval has steadily grown louder through the Northern states. Further encroachments are likely to result in drastic action as the men of the North will often be far less tolerant, when it comes to decisive action in a personal affair with the blacks, than are those of the South who have been longer familiar with the other Race.

If the whites do not wish to be associated with Colored persons in a restaurant they should not be obliged to do so. The wise Negro will appreciate the privileges he has been granted and prudently stay within his proper bounds.—The Minot Daily News, Minot, N. D.

Race Problem - 1921
United States

*Paul Thompson*

The little girls of the North Harlem Community Club for Negro Children patronize the most sophisticated of the arts —ballet dancing. And the young aspirants seem to take to it naturally, to say the least

# "I'd Like to Show You Harlem!"

## This Prosperous City of 150,000 Negroes (Where Even the Cops Are Colored) Is One Bright Spot in Our Black Problem

## By Rollin Lynde Hartt

### Author of "The New Negro"

NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT
APRIL 2, 1921

"WHEN we get possession of Africa," a negro said to me in Harlem the other day, "we are going to build a civilization so splendid that white women will blacken their faces and frizz their hair." He was joking, partly. But in all seriousness he added, "Who knows if we have a long time to wait? Already the spirit of prophecy is abroad; out West the Angel Gabriel has told a fifteen-year-old boy, 'You negroes shall have Africa,' and in Liberia the trees have cried out, 'You negroes shall have Africa!' and the rocks answered, 'Yes, yes! Amen! Africa for the Africans!'"

I suppose I looked incredulous, for he went on, "Superstition? Well, we are superstitious." And they are. More than that, they are quixotic. Outside the building where we chatted hangs the red, green and black flag of Africa. Within reigns—if you call it reigning—all Africa's "provisional president," his Excellency the Honorable Marcus Garvey. And yet negroes, like other folks, require some visible basis for their superstition and their quixotism. Back of both, in the new negro's case, looms an achievement—namely, Harlem, the wonderful.

Greatest negro city in the world, it boasts magnificent negro churches, luxurious negro apartment houses, vast negro wealth, and a negro population of 130,000, or possibly 150,000, or, as enthusiasts declare, 195,000. Only fifteen years ago Harlem was white. Today it is an exhibit, not of darkest, but of brightest Africa. No matter what his attitude toward Garvey and Garveyism, every new negro argues, consciously or unconsciously, "If my race could make Harlem, pray, what on earth can't it do?" and, in discussing race problems, he will remark, sooner or later, "I'd like to show you Harlem." It is his Q. E. D. And a point well taken? Go see.

Climbing the subway stairs at 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, you suppress a squirm; also a rising humorosity. Both are foolish. This is no usual Black Belt or Little Africa or San Juan Hill. It is no mere glorified Lime Kiln Club. From the top of those stairs you get an impression of spaciousness, of cleanliness, of prosperity, of success—of brilliance, almost. A negro said to me once, "There's no finer section of New York City."

It was not a particularly wild exaggeration, you will find.

True, a certain amount of poverty and a certain very pitiable degree of overcrowding occasionally lurk behind those brownstone fronts or sadden the interiors of less antiquated dwellings, and one hears on official authority that crime and illiteracy in Harlem are above "normal." Yet what meets the eye is all but universally cheerful—streets broad and well kept, houses scrupulously cared for, and the inhabitants admirably prosperous. You notice a profusion of "pussy-cat" hats. You see expensively clad mothers perambulating superb baby carriages. Beside Little Italy and the Ghetto, Harlem shines. And if its people are black, who cares? In ten minutes or less, you begin to forget, and in a half-hour or less you are color-blind, quite.

As for the humorous side, you may be tempted to poke fun a little at that Harlem grandee, Sir Walter Craig, musician, and at Professor Darling Mack's "twenty-five jazz demons, every member an irresistible jazz fiend," and at the basket ball promoter who advertizes, "Come out, bring your horns, bells, rattles, and cheer the home girls on in their fight to stop the invaders," nor will you keep an entirely straight face when reading, "Hats off to Lelia Edmunds! She has broken into the charmed circle of the three leaders of the Popularity-Beauty Contest." Perhaps you might also poke fun at the Jack Johnson Welcome Home Club. But Harlem is not amusing, in the main. In the main, it is impressive. Especially the churches.

St. Philip's, with 4000 communicants, has lately erected a $300,000 Gothic edifice in stone and tawny brick. Note the mullioned windows, the exquisitely sculptured corbels, the fine brass, the reredos adorned with gleaming mosaic. Any parish, anywhere, might well be proud of such a church. Meanwhile the Metropolitan Baptists have taken over a handsome stone structure, vaguely Richardsonian in design and belonging originally to a white congregation. Of the many smaller churches in Harlem, a few are undeniably quaint. One, in a tiny shop, has a tiny restaurant down cellar. Another announces a "big baptizing." Still another puts out a sign, "Look! Look! Souls are being saved!" A fourth styles itself "Christadelphian Ecclesia." And the Spiritualists flourish, moderately, while a charming wizard proclaims, "Magic words—secret, sure method of obtaining anything you want; postpaid for dime." But the usual Harlem church, tho little, is so beautifully built in such costly material that you ask, "Where do these negroes get all this money?"

Where, indeed? Their "Y" cost $350,000. Their "Y. W." cost the same. St. Philip's deals in real estate and has holdings valued at $1,000,000. All told, the Harlem negroes control real estate worth $20,000,000 according to the lowest estimate, $300,000,000 according to the highest. Nobody knows precisely. You hear of "four millionaires" and "ten half-millionaires"; also you hear that individual wealth rarely exceeds $75,000. But there are two banks owned and operated by negroes, and of New York's 500 negro auto-

(Over)

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**THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.**

To The Commercial Appeal:

Would you kindly publish the following in Sunday's Commercial Appeal? I am a citizen of Arkansas and live about 25 miles from Memphis. I was educated in the Clay Street Public School, Memphis, Tenn., for black children. I was in New York City in September, 1920, and was in Wall Street about two hours before the explosion.

Some New York black men talked with me and were giving the south a bad name, and said they would not live in it, and telling me about the great things for the black man in their city, New York, and what they were doing. When he paused I said to him and the other New Yorkers that the black men of Memphis, Tenn., owned and were running two banks on Beale Avenue, and that your paper said about three years ago, more or less, that one of these banks had in it over $1,000,000, and that I could throw a rock from that bank to the other black man's bank on the same street. Then I said there are more black people in New York City than there are in any other in America, and that the New York black man never had any bank at all. This shows that the south is the best place for the black man in money matters, and that, you know, is the main thing in living, and the Bible says money answers all purposes. I write this because I understand that literature is being sent from New York concerning our going back to Africa or elsewhere, and many other things. Of course, such only means a harder time for us. Let the south teach our children and all will be well. Soon we are going to have war here between capital and labor. The black man will be needed to help settle it. Next America will have to fight Japan or change some laws which we have on the Pacific coast. America is our home and here we are going to stay. Our black boys broke up the last European or world war, and they will help you break up the next one. From

A BLACK MAN WHO READS YOUR
PAPER DAILY.

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn. [illegible]

(From Over)

mobile licenses a majority are held in Harlem, and the Harlem shop-windows display goods at prices by no means humble—$18 for a smoking-table, $30 for a lamp.

The explanation is, negroes have gone into business—the real estate business, the insurance business, the amusement business, and a dozen other kinds of business, large and small. A negro millinery shop offers "a variety of styles in the latest Parisian shapes" created "by expert negro designers." A negro apothecary advertizes, "Why Not Go to Our Own Drugstore? They employ all colored men." A negro music shop sells negro "spirituals" and records of "Lucille Hegamin, the wonderful colored singer, accompanied by the Blue Flame Syncopaters." And what chances one hears of for investment! The African International Traders, Inc. "are buying and selling for negroes the world over." S. S. Bassa arrives with "a rich cargo of mahogany for the Gold Coast Import and Export Company." "Kpakpa Quartey, West African timber and mineral lands owner, will entertain general business propositions." "The World Wonder Oil and Gas Company of Kansas City, largest oil company operated by negroes, has opened its rn headquarters in the beautiful office building owned Wile Wil-

n

e. Our boys and girls have been educated to a commercial and business knowledge, but, owing to the lack of business industries have been compelled to let it waste and have had to go to the other race and accept lower positions."

Paul Thompson

**With Booker T. Washington and Abraham Lincoln approving from the walls, the very young men of the North Harlem Community Club get together in solemn conclave over all manner of important questions**

To a certain extent the charge is true. But more and more the negroes are driving the whites out of business all thru Harlem, and this is one reason why Hampton and Tuskegee seek recruits so confidently there, and why such establishments as the Toussaint School of Professional Photography, the Crichlow-Braithwaite Shorthand School, the New York Academy of Stenography and Typewriting, the National School of Music, and Mme. Grant's School of Dressmaking attract pupils. Young Harlem will soon be independent of "the other race." Its own race advances rapidly, for, while undesirables, of a sort, pour in from the Southern states, a highly ambitious and on the whole very well educated type arrives from the British West Indies. To this influx of West Indian negroes—40,000 have come, they say—Harlem's prosperity is largely due.

Why do they come? Explanations vary. Some will tell you, "It is because land in the British West Indies is held in large estates; a negro has no chance to buy in and get a start." Others say, "It is because we lacked opportunities for technical education." And when you ask if the much more drastic color line in the States was not a deterrent, they shrug their shoulders and change the subject. They feel it, tho—especially the mulattoes. In the British West Indies, there is a distinction between "colored people" and negroes. Here, the West Indian mulatto finds himself a man without a race. The whites scorn him. He scorns the blacks. Meanwhile he is not too fond of the Spanish-speaking folk—West Indian cigarmakers from Cuba and Porto Rico. Harlem has 15,000 Porto Ricans. In the Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library you will see an array of photographs, "Old Homes of New Americans—Porto Rico." You will also see *La Tribuna* and *La Gaceta*, newspapers printed in Spanish.

This, obviously, is a first step in Americanization. Once the Spanish-speaking negroes have been attracted to the Library, they may begin to show interest in its forum, where race problems are discussed by visiting celebrities, and perhaps even in its collection of books on race problems. Harlem reads enormously. Harlem thinks, tho you would little imagine it at first. What with festivities loudly announced by "the Great Fraternal and Loving Order of Grand United Mosaic Templars," the Colored Amateur Billiards Association, the Waiters' Association, the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, the Professional Chauffeurs, and the Royal Four Social Club ("first prize $5 in gold to the lady wearing the prettiest silk waist and stockings"), the place seems frivolous. But pause in front of Young's Book Exchange and see what Harlem buys. In one window you will notice "Dunbar's Poems," "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," "The Journal of Negro History, Vol. I," "Frederick Douglass, Orator," "The Negro Soldier in Our War," Emilio's "A Brave Black Regiment," Booker Washington's "My Larger Education," Du Bois's "Dark Water" and "Souls of Black Folk," Wiener's "Africa and the Discovery of America," Hatcher's "John Jasper," Henson's "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole," Ray Stannard Baker's "Following the Color Line," Pickett's "The Negro Problem," Stewart's "The Haitian Revolution," Dowd's "The Negro Races," "Zabriskie's "The Virgin Islands," Seligmann's "The Negro Faces America," Stoddard's "The Rising Tide of Color." Incidentally, Harlem supports five negro newspapers, all of which endeavor persistently—and successfully—to keep race problems uppermost in Harlem's mind.

[*Continued on page 35*

One result is a growth of race pride. To be sure, the "beauty" business still flourishes, quite as in the days when Mme. Walker became the richest negress in America and built a $250,000 house on the Hudson. Miss Martha Simpson, "beauty culturist," advertizes "hair pressing," while "the Star Hair Grower," a "wonderful preparation," can be used "with or without straightening irons," and Dr. Fred Palmer's "Skin Whitener" is a "delicately tinted and scented face powder preferred by all race women of refinement." Moreover, certain mulattoes style themselves the "high brown" and would establish a color-line-within-the-color-line. But far more significant is the thriving trade in negro doll-babies. You find them displayed everywhere, with the legend, "Why should a negro child play with a white doll?" I wish they were blacker—yet they at least show that negroes are getting over their craven envy of the white race and learning to respect their own. Again, Harlem exhibits self-respect in its increasing readiness to care for its own unfortunates.

I imagine, however, that the negro children play with white children. Most likely they go to school with white children. Of the two large public schools in Harlem, one is 25 per cent white, the other 10 per cent. And no doubt it is permissible to applaud white entertainers at the Lincoln Theater, where they share the honors of vaudeville with negroes and seem hugely to relish the laughter of a black audience, as vanity knows no color line. But the loudest applause and the most uproarious laughter are reserved for negro performers.

Now it is not to be supposed that Harlem turned from white to black without something of a pang, and it would be interesting to find out just how the process began. According to one legend, a landlord put in negroes from spite. According to another, the negroes took the initiative and got in by employing a set of agents, sub-agents, and proxy sub-agents, who tricked the whites. It little matters. The negroes are there. They own the district—figuratively and to a surprising extent literally.

Soon there will be no old residents left. If present tendencies continue, there will be no white shopkeepers. And, little by little, black Harlem is spreading. Is it not conceivable, then, that somewhere along its borders, if not within it, there may develop the spirit that leads eventually to race warfare? Today, by all one can learn, no such spirit exists, tho Harlem is on its guard against just that sort of thing, and whenever the white race wants "trouble," "trouble" will be forthcoming. There are "guns."

I have this from inside. During the series of race riots, in Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere—not so long ago it was—a police officer consulted a leading negro in Harlem. "How's this?" said the officer. "Coming up the subway stairs, I notice that every negro's hip pocket bulges out, and I feel, and, sure enough, there's a gun. What would you advise me to do? Enforce the law against carrying concealed weapons?"

"My advice is, let 'em alone. They won't start anything. But if somebody else does, taking away all the guns you can won't make any difference. There'll be thousands more."

So the officer did nothing. And Harlem did likewise.

*New York*

Race Problem — 1921.

United States.

# HOW THE DAILY PRESS OF THE CAPITAL OF THE U. S. A. REPORTED THE 2ND WORLD DEMOCRACY CONGRESS ASSEMBLED BY THE NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE, M. A. N. SHAW, PRESIDENT, DEC. 12-16, 1921.

Boston Guardian 12/[illegible]

## Story of the Congress Told by Articles in Washington, D. C., Dailies and Associated Press.

### OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT BY ASSOCIATED PRESS OVER THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

Washington, Dec. 12, 1921—The second Colored world democracy congress, a sequel to the meeting which in December 1918 elected delegates to present the cause of the Colored race to the Versailles Peace Conference, began a week's session here today. William M. Trotter of Boston presided.

The purpose of the second congress, Mr. Trotter announced, is to formulate and present to the Armament Conference a petition for "the recognition of the equality of the races as a cardinal principle of any world peace policy."

### PLEA OF COLORED RACE FOR HEARING AT PARLEY

### "World Democracy Congress," in Session Here, Asks Consideration of Protection to Racial Minorities

Washington Star, Dec. 12, 1921

With delegates present from various sections of the country, the Second Colored World Democracy Congress met in preliminary conference in the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion church, 14th and Corcoran streets, today.

Following deliberations today and tomorrow by members of the body, which is an outgrowth of the first such congress, held in December, 1918, to present the cause of Colored America to the peace conference at Paris, formal sessions of the gathering will be held Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, with mass meetings each night.

In opening the session today William Monroe Trottter of Boston, presiding, outlined the objeects of the meeting, which is to draft a petition to be presented to the conference on limitation of armament by the National Colored American Congress, asking that the equality among races and protection for racial minorities be included in its deliberations.

M. A. N. Shaw, president of the National Equal Rights League, under whose auspices the congress will be held, will preside at the formal meetings. James L. Neill of the District of Columbia will act as secretary and M. W. Spencer, treasurer.

### NEGROES IN WORLD CONGRESS

### Second Meeting, Opened Here, to Petition for Race Equality

(Washington Post, Dec. 13, 1921)

The second Colored world democracy congress, a sequel to the meeting which in December, 1918, elected delegates to present the cause of the negro race to the Versailles peace conference, began a week's session here yesterday. William M. Trotter, of Boston, presided at the opening session.

The purpose of the second congress, Mr. Trotter announced, is to formulate and present to the arms conference a petition for "the recognition of the equality of the races as a cardinal principle of any world peace policy."

### WORLD GATHERING COMMENDS MOVE AGAINST PRACTICE — SEEK HEARING AT ARMS PARLEY

(Washington Post, Dec. 14, 1921)

Commendation for the Georgia county, which recently recommended a Federal law against lynching, was voted at last night's informal conference of the Second Colored World Democracy congress at the John Wesley Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, Fourteenth and Corcoran streets. Formal sessions of the congress begin this morning.

Copies of a petition requesting a hearing before the arms limitation conference "to show the menace to world peace from the present inequality of races," will be submitted to the various delegations attending the world conference. M. A. N. Shaw, president of the Equal Rights League, presided at last night's session.

### Request Hearing

Wash., D. C., Dec. 13, 1921—Copies of a petition requesting a hearing before the arms conference "to show the menace to world peace from the present inequality of races" are being submitted to every delegation attending the international conference for limitation of armament, it was announced today at the second session of the second World Democracy Congress being held at the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church, 14th and Cocoran sts. Colored delegates from twelve states are now attending the conference. Committees were authorized to prepare data to submit to the international arms conference, when hearing is accorded. A petition was forwarded to Secretary Hughes yesterday urging that the Colored delegates be given a hearing with a "view to their recognition of the equality of races."

A petition is now being prepared seeking congressional support for favorable action on the Dyer anti-lynching bill. The delegates also made preparations at today's session for the open sessions of the congress which will be held tomorrow, Thursday and Friday nights.

M. A. N. Shaw, as president of the Equal Rights League, presided at the meeting today. Among those attending the sessions are: James L. Neill recording secretary of the congress of this city; M. W. Spencer, treasurer of Delaware; William Monroe Trotter of Boston; Rev. C. M. Tanner, financial secretary, of this city; Rev. J. T Moppins, first vice president of Missouri; Rev. J. R. L. Diggs of Maryland; second vice president; Rev. S. E. J. Watson of Illinois, chairman of the executive committee; Rev. H. B. Mayes of Indiana, national organizer Cyril Briggs of New York, president of the African Brotherhood League and Rev. J. B. Mullins, president of the Tennessee State League.

### "LYNCHING CHIEF SUBJECT"

### Second Colored World Democracy Congress Held Here

(Washington Star, Dec. 14, 1921)

Lynching and measures to repress it in the United States were the principal subjects for deliberation at the first formal session of the second Colored world democracy congress at the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion church, 14th and Corcoran streets today.

Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, president of the National Equal Rights League under whose auspices the congress is being conducted, will open the first public mass meeting at the church tonight.

Rev. T. J. Moppins of St. Louis, first vice president of the league; S. J. Davidson, executive chairman of the District branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and T. H. R. Clarke also will speak. J. L. Neill, recording secretary of the league, will greet the delegates with addresses of welcome.

During its session today, the congress approved the Dyer anti-lynching bill and issued an appeal to Congress for speedy passage of the act

### "NEGROES ASK LOOGE FOR PARLEY HEARING"

### Delegation From Colored World Congress Visits Senator, Indorse Dyer Bill

(Washington Post, Dec. 15, 1921)

In an effort to obtain a hearing before the arms limitation conference, a committee from the Second Colored World Democracy Congress called on Senator Lodge yesterday in his offices at the Capitol. The delegation visiting the Senator was introduced by E. T Morris, of Boston, and included the Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, of Boston; Rev W. O. Harris, of Connecticut; W. W Spenser, of Washington, and B. S Salisbury, of South Carolina and W M. Trotter.

Senator Lodge was told that "inequality of race and color is of sufficient, grave and universal importance to need attention."

Efforts to win the hearing before the conference will be continued today by members of the congress This was stated last night after the congress has endorsed the Dyer anti-lynching bill. At the public meeting, held in the John Wesley Zion A. M. E. church, Fourteenth and Corcoran streets. It was announced that the Rev. T. J. Moppins of Representative Dyer's district, in St. Louis had been appointed to work with the author of the anti-lynching bill as a representative of the National Equal Rights league and of the Democracy congress.

Speakers at the meeting were J .L. Niell, of this city; the Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, the Rev. T. J. Moppins and W. W. Spenser. Prayers were offeered by the Rev. Thomas of Connecticut. All condemned the narrow limits of the arms parley.

### 'COLORED CONGRESS ASSAILS LYNCHING"

### Asks Presentation in House of Petition in Favor of Dyer Measure.

(Washington Star, Dec. 15, 1921)

In behalf of a "constitutency of 11,000,000 American citizens," the Second Colored World Democracy Congress requested republican leaders of the House of Representatives today to present a petition to the House for the passage of the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

### Quotes Petition

"We believe," said the petition's preamble, "that it is now time, with the advance of general intelligence and of religion, with the progress of world civilization, with the noble part taken by all elements of the American people in a bloody world war to save civilization and to establish world democracy, for the awful practice of mob-murder and lynching of human beings and American citizens to be ended, or, at least, for the federal government to undertake this work or humanity and for the fair name of our republic."

### Committee in Charge

Members of the committee which presented the petition to members of the House were Rev. T. J. Moppins, chairman; Dr. Julia P, H. Coleman E. T. Morris, Rev. B. S. Salisbury, Rev. W. J. Hollimus, Rev. L. C. Newby, Rev. R. Brodie and Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, chairman of the congress

Chairman William Monroe Trotter of the committee on memorializing the arms parley, placed in the hands of Senator Lodge, before the latter went to the conference, a written request that the committee be heard by the American delegation as to the request of the congress that presentation of facts and arguments on the treatment of brown and black peoples be granted. His visit was the result of a conference held by the committee with Senator Lodge yesterday at the Capitol, where a plea for the aid of the senator in obtaining audience with the arms conference was made.

### Plea to Conference

The plea submitted by the committee was as follows:

"That it is in accord with the spirit of the call of this arms parley to permit the presentation of issue of wide scope which affect human strifes and conflicts on a wide scale.

"That it is fair and incumbent to consider universal practices menacing world peace which involve the violation of the general principles of justice and freedom.

"That substantial progress toward the accomplishment of the basic object of this arms parley requires the laying down of general principles on issues which can be shown to be the present source of universal or well-nigh universal unrest, ferment, strife and even conflict at this moment in world affairs.

"So it is that our committee seek an audience now with the full American delegation to give facts and arguments to show that the present treatment of people of color by the white nation, or nations dominantly white, is well nigh universal, involves the violation of a universal moral principle; would be ameliorated by the laying down of a universal principle of justice and freedom, and that this color-line not only menaces the peace of the world theoretically, but in present actuality is causing the most human ferment, strife, conflict, insurrection and even bloody warfare."

At a mass meeting last night addresses were delievered by M. W. Spencer, presiding; James L. Neill, Rev. M. A. N. Shaw and Rev. T. J. Moppins.

Tonight's mass meeting at the John Wesley A M. E. Zion Church, 14th and Corcoran streets, will be addressed by Rev. W. O. Harris of Connecticut, Rev. Walter D. McClane, Thomas H. R. Clarke, S. J. Davidson and William Monroe Trotter.

### COLORED MEN ASK AUDIENCE

### World Congress Would Get Before Parley Through Foreign Delegates

(Washington Post, Dec. 17, 1921)

Written requests for audiences with the French and British delegations were put into the hands of the secretaries at th eNew Willard and Franklin Square hotels late yesterday afternoon by William Monroe Trotter of Massachusetts; the Rev. R. B. Brodie of New York; E. T. Morris of Massachusetts; the Rev. Beverly Saulsbury of Mississippi, and M. W. Spencer of the District, as a committee on memorial to the arms parley of the Second Colored World Democracy congress, which will close its week's sessions this afternoon in the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion church, Fourteenth and Cocoran streets.

The audiences are asked for aid in

obtaining a hearing before this arms parley.

### Get a Hearing

In following up the first request for a hearing on the admissibility of the world color inequality issue before the American delegation, which had been submitted for this committee by Senator Lodge, a second request was presented to the secretary of the American delegation at the new Navy building, Mr. Miles giving the colored delegation a personal hearing, but failing to satisfy them.

The speakers were: J. T. Bell, of Kansas; Mrs. M. M. Griffith of Pennsylvania; A. W. Whaley of New York; the Rev. E. W. D. Jones and the Rev. C. M. Tanner, of the local committee of seven, who united in the memorial, and W. M. Trotter. The memorial holds that the color issue comes nearer threatening a world-war than any other single issue. (The Memorial later was to be altogether a joint one. —W. M. T.)

## "DELEGATES GET PLEA OF COLORED CONGRESS"

### Request Asks Hearing on Relevancy of Treatment of Negroes as Issue

Delegates to the conference on limitation of armament yesterday received a request of the memorial committee of the second colored world democracy congress, asking to be heard on the relevancy of treatment of colored persons as an issue to be discussed by the parley. The requests were sent out at the final meeting of the colored congress at the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church yesterday. The memorial committee had a hearing on the request by the democracy congress last night, with the secretary of the American delegation to the arms conference at the Navy building.

Yesterday's session of the democracy congress was expected to act on the reply of the British and French delegations to the request for an audience before them.

The request was transmitted to the British and French delegations by William M. Trotter of Boston, Rev. Beverly Saulsbury of Mississippi, E. T. Morris of Massachusetts, Rev. R. B. Brodie of New York and M. W. Spencer of Washington. The democracy congress asked the aid of the foreign delegations toward a hearing on the color line issue.

Final touches were given at the meeting today on the "Memorial of Colored America to the Limitation of Arms Conference for World Peace" which the congress asks to present orally or to secure an audience before the arms conference.

The congress, which was assembled by the committee of seven of the District, joins in the memorial and formulated the detailed data of the memorial. Addresses were made at the final mass meeting last night by Rev. E. W. Jones and C. M. Tanner of Washington; Turner Bell of Kansas, Mrs. M. M. Griffin of Pennsylvania, A. W. Whaley of New York and W. M. Trotter of Massachusetts.

(Sunday night late the Committee of Seven Committee and Congress Committee agreed upon a joint Memorial.—W. M. T.)

### Editor's Note

By the foregoing, reports in the Washington Herald and Washington Times being omitted, with the actual headlines used by these dailies given, and often they were in large type, readers can see the work done of advertising the wrongs done our race publicly in the white press at our National Capital where all the foreign delegates are present to read of it. This was a main purpose of the Democracy Congress. If it was a success give the race's National Equal Rights League credit.

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## NEGROES AND EDUCATION

There occurred in Augusta a few weeks ago an incident that the state press ignored, and probably wisely so, isanmuch as racial feeling in the south is already aggravated sufficiently to keep the tension at the breaking point. The News-Reporter has no desire to add the least fuel to the flame that steadily grows in the south; indeed, this paper wants to see the negro and the white man get on better terms.

Southern white men are going to have to deal with the black man so long as there is a south, and every leader, both white and black, instead of doing and saying things to aggravate the prevalent feeling, should look for the causes that increase and intesify that feeling and eliminate the causes where possible.

And because we feel as we do about it, we are going to say a few things about education and the negro in the south, and cite the case above referred which incident happened in the Payne school at Augusta, where negroes are being educated, not for useful citizenship, but where they are having social equality and other damnable ideas put into their heads, as a concrete case in point.

The incident in point: A young white man goes to this negro school with a special delivery letter for one of the negro women teachers. He did not remove his cap when he entered the building and is ordered to do so by a 19-year-old negro boy; the white boy refuses to recognize the negroes as his equal or superior by removing his cap and is attacked and beaten up by a half dozen of them The negroes were later arrested and two of them are now under $1,000 bonds to answer to the courts.

These nergo boys have been taught in the Payne institute, either by text or example, that they are the white man's equal, and ever before they leave the walls of the institution, they become a menace to society; especially a menace to the happiness and well-being of their own race. Turn hundreds of such fool negroes loose in Georgia as leaders of their race and there won't be trees enough in the state to accommodate the lynching parties. And no white woman will be safe in the country districts of our state.

And this Payne Institute, where negro boys and girls are being taught that they can go out in the world and be the white man's equal socially, politically and otherwise—it's a negro school supported by northern money, you say. No, brother, you are wrong; it's an institution largely supported by the Methodists of Georgia, Georgia people furnishing money to run an institution that unfits Georgia negroes for the work for which they are needed in the state.

While The News-Reporter is not ready to say it is in favor of no education at all for the negro, it does most sincerely believe that no education at all is better than such as is evidently being given the young negroes in this Augusta school.

Industrial education for the negro is all right. Make a better workman of him, and at the same time teach him that this is a white man's country and the negro will live and prosper; but such incidents as that reported in the Augusta institution will not make for either happiness nor prosperity for the race.

Race Problem — U.S. 1921.

# AN APPEAL TO REASON AND NOT PASSION

Atlanta Independent 2/17/21

We publish in another column of this issue an editorial clipped from the Daily News and Sun, of Griffin, Ga., February 10, 1921. The excerpt speaks for itself and we submit it to the better judgment of mankind for what it is worth and its meaning in the economic and industrial life of our section.

In replying to Editor Duke, of the News and Sun, we shall not be abusive or irritable, but will appeal to his better judgment and undertake to reason with him. We shall make an honest effort to convince him and those who may think as he does, that they are in error in their estimate of the man. There is nothing in abuse or vituperation; but if we can make our neighbor see his error and that he has done us a grave injustice, we shall have accomplished far more than if we won the applause of the galleries by vituperation.

As a rule the white man loves the truth and will not let error stand when he knows the truth.

In the first place, we wish to inform Mr. Duke that we hold no brief for the conduct of Henry Lincoln Johnson, but, knowing the man as we do, it is but just to him for us t osay that he is loyal to the south and would not willingly do his section a wrong in comparison with other sections. He may have at times uttered charges against groups of people in the south, but his utterances were not intended as a blow at his native section as distinguished from other sections

Secondly, the daily papers of the city had representatives present at the meeting of the republican state central committee when it was investigating charges against certain officers; but they found nothing in the remarks of Henry Lincoln Johnson offensive to the south, our native state, or to invite editorial condemnation. His speech was conservative, and a law-abiding man like Mr. Duke, would not have taken offense had he been present.

But what we take exceptions to and ask Mr. Duke to hear our cause for the sake of truth, is the sentiment expressed in the following excerpt published in his paper February 10:

"Georgia has had just about enough of Henry Lincoln Johnson, Negro lawyer and liar, and Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Negro editor and liar. Unchallenged by the white press of the state and unmolested by white men, Davis is weekly publishing abusive editorials against the south and southern people, particularly Georgia and Georgians.

"We believe in free speech and free press, but are of the opinion that there is a vast difference between the published truth and sky-high lying. If Davis believes that he can continue to libel Georgia and Georgians, he will realize some night that he is sadly mistaken.

"Johnson boasted that he would visit Georgia and repeat the statement that he made in Chicago.

"Do it in Griffin, Linc, and bring Ben Davis with you."

We are proud that Editor Duke declares in favor of law and order and free speech and free press. Therefore, we feel that he will hear our cause for Truth's sake.

In substance, Mr. Duke accuses the editor of disloyalty to the south, abusing the south and slandering Georgia and Georgians. He also accuses us of lying on our people, to all of which we plead not guilty and ask Mr. Duke to hear our plea for Truth's sake.

First, We ask him to quote one line or one abusive statement from our files or from our public speeches, in which we abused the south, slandered Georgia or lied on her people.

The editor is a southerner by both birth and choice and loves the south, her people and traditions as fervently and as patriotically as any white Georgian; and so far as lies in his power, has contributed as much to the progress of Georgia as any man in the state. He has never and will never utter one word of slander against his state or section and will never lie nor misrepresent any Georgian, be he white or black. The south is not our home because of birth, but as a matter of choice. We may at times, when in our judgment the conditions warrant it, utter words of condemnation against lawless groups of white and black people in the south and in Georgia; but no utterance of ours is ever intended as a slander against our section or a misrepresentation of our people.

It has been our pleasure as well as our duty to defend the south in every section of our country against its revilers. We have said on the platform from Boston, Mass., to Denver, Colo., that in spite of the preponderance of race friction and troubles in the south as compared with other sections of the country, we love the south best and would remain here and fight out our battles and seek to ameliorate conditions by living useful and helpful lives in the communities where we lived and contributing the very best in the man to the progress and growth of our state and section.

We are as much opposed to Negro domination in governmental affairs as Mr. Duke is; but we are not opposed to Negro participation in governmental affairs. We believe in the Jeffersonian idea that there is no just government without the consent of the governed. We do not subscribe to the doctrine of "white supremacy" based upon race or color; but we do believe that the government ought to be controlled by its wealth and intelligence instead of its ignorance and poverty. That brings us to the conclusion, whether we are willing or not, that the white man of right, ought to rule in this country because he is the highest development of American manhood. He possesses the wealth and intelligence of the country; and in no age of the country, and there never will be an age in this country or any other country, when wealth and intelligence will bow to ignorance and poverty. Brains and money have always controlled the world and always will, and no sensible Negro expects America to be an exception to a civilized rule as old as civilization itself. The rule of the white man ought not to prevail because he is white, but because he is fittest.

But we believe that the white man in his supremacy should be charitable enough to administer government affairs so as to develop out of the Negro a useful and helpful factor in the control of government. He should have a voice and should be governed with his consent. The laws of the country should be so administered by white men as to make the Negro feel that law was created for his protection rather than his punishment, and that punishment is just retribution for his sins against society.

We have been all over this country, know every section, know the people, racial relations and the opportunities to make bread, and we prefer the southland because of the opportunity here to work out our problems. The Negro knows the white man here, and the white man here knows him; and for us and our house, we are going to live, die and be buried here, and if any group of white or black men want to find us and punish us for giving expression to the faith that is in us, they can always find us in Georgia. We are not going to run away, but would rather be murdered and buried in the southland for the faith that is in us than to live in exile in any other section of America.

If Mr. Duke thinks we are a liar on our people or a slanderer against our section, we refer him to any banker or business man of Atlanta, the governor of our state, the mayor of our city, the chief of police, any judge of the Superior Court or any officer of the law; and we will refer him to any old citizen of Dawson, Ga., where we were born and reared. We are loyal to Georgia, contributing the best in the man to the progress and growth of our state.

The interest we represent pays annually into the coffers of the state $10,000 in taxes—more than most white men pay. During the sixteen years we have lived in Atlanta, we have placed in the white banks of the city $6,000,000. We have built a business block here at

(over)

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# NEWBOLD DISCUSSES NEGRO QUESTION

DURHAM N. C. HERALD
FEBRUARY 17, 1921

## Opens At Trinity Tour of Schools and Colleges of the State.

N. C. Newbold, connected with the state department of education in the capacity of agent of rural schools, inaugurated at Trinity college last night a tour of various colleges of the state which he will make in an attempt to arouse among college people an interest in studying the negro question as it faces the south today. The object is to form classes for considering the question through the agency of the college Y's.

Addressing the Y. M. C. A. here, Mr. Newbold showed that the negro question is one of the most vital confronting the south today. He quoted a noted authority on the negro question to show that the negro had not in every instance received a square deal in the matter of education, vocational training, industrial opportunity, sanitation, and social justice. Comparing the sums expended for the education of the blacks and whites, he said that last year the three negro normal schools under state superintendence received $35,000, while the smallest white school alone almost received this amount.

Indifference was named as one of the principal causes of the present condition of the negro. His condition, it was declared, is given little thought by the majority and the result is that by his own efforts he is unable to rise from his position of ignorance. The students were told that it is up to the college man to remedy this state of affairs.

At some period today a canvass of the students will be made to ascertain their attitude toward a course to deal with the racial problem, to be taught by some member of the faculty at a time to be selected.

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## ASKS FAIRNESS IN HANDLING RACE QUESTION

(By Associated Negro Press.)

East Tennessee News 3/10/21

Macon, Ga., March 7.—"The Negro question in the South" was the topic of a lecture delivered by Walter B. Hill to the student body and faculty of Mercer University last Wednesday morning. **Mr. Hill** advised moderation in dealing with the question and declared that the South must use extreme wisdom in its effort to fix an equitable adjustment of the matter. The lecture was well rceeived.

(From Other Side)

a cost of $500,000 and have paid to Negro widows and orphans in the state of Georgia $3,500,000, virtually closing the door of the county poor house to Negro paupers. And it is hardly probable that a man representing these collosal interests would slander the state that had afforded him the opportunity to build up these vast fortunes, or lie on the people who have contributed so materially to his success; for Ben Davis could not have brought about these signal results without the co-operation and protection of the white people of Georgia. They have been his friends, have loaned him money, advised him and helped him to develop these great enterprises.

And we wish to say out of the fullness of an honest heart, prompted by our experience and knowledge of the conditions sectionally and nationally, that there is no other section of America in which Ben Davis or any other Negro could have accomplished so much except in the south and the state of Georgia. On our personal account, we pay in round numbers in taxes annually $1,000, and we want the people of the south to know that we are loyal to our state and section and patriotic to our country; that we love "Old Glory" and love our state. We love its people, its traditions, its manhood and appreciate the opportunities afforded us to uplift ourselves and to better our condition, and we appeal to the better judgment of the white man to encourage us and to help us feel at home that we may put the very best that is in us in the development of the great resources of the greatest state in the union. Some of our people—both white and black—are bad, but a majority of both races are good and have souls in them and are working to wipe out sectional lines and racial strife. Mr. Duke, reason with us; learn more about us, and you will think differently of us.

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PHILADELPHIA EVE. LEDGER
APRIL 21, 1921

### The South and Racial Freedom

To the Editor of the Evening Public Ledger:

Sir—I read with profound delight the article which appeared in the editorial column of your issue of April 8 on the "Slaver's Instinct Has Survived Many Wars," and was indeed gratified to note the stand taken by you in the interest of the principles of righteousness and justice against the infernal, barbaric practices of so-called civilized people of power in the South.

Would that it were possible for your article to be printed in every paper throughout the country, as it would have a tendency to shame those who wink at such practices and by so doing think that they are fooling a just God, who never slumbers or sleeps.

There is an old saying, nevertheless a true one, "The mill of the gods grinds slow, but grinds to powder."

Just retribution is sure to follow those who are guilty of such utter disregard for law and order and the wholesale taking of human life, which has recently come to light in darkest Georgia.

That is one reason why the South is so far behind other great sections of this country in the onward march of progress, and will always stay behind as long as such fiendish practices continue to go on.

The late Booker T. Washington, the great industrial leader of his people, often said: "No man can keep another man down in the gutter without staying down there himself to hold him down."

Human society is so constituted that no one can rise without in a measure lifting some one else up, and no one can fall without dragging some one else down. That is the trouble with the South; they are letting vast opportunities for progress pass while trying to keep the colored man down. But there is a reckoning day coming for those who boast of their superiority over other human beings whom they have crushed down by the iron heel of oppression, for it is inevitable that individuals and communities, as well as nations and governments, must reap what they sow.

Why do not those who have authority to legislate and execute the laws make such laws that will educate, uplift and enlighten those who are helpless, downtrodden and oppressed and grant them the full measure of citizenship and the right to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness, as the constitution of this great American republic purposes to vouchsafe to every man, regardless of race or color or previous condition of servitude? For not until mankind everywhere the world over recognizes the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and say, like Abram of old said unto Lot, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren" (Genesis xiii, 8), will the nations of the earth reach that high plane of Christian civilization based on the teaching of Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, which, if followed, will enable us to have a conscience void of offense toward God and all men.

REV. J. W. HILTON.

Philadelphia, April 14, 1921.

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JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
OCTOBER 31, 1921

### NEGRO AND WHITE EQUALITY.

Editor Jersey Journal:

Sir—The conscious man is a better judge of an unconscious man than the unconscious man could possibly be; but the conscious man is a better judge of himself than anyone else equally as conscious could possibly be of him. The white men who have made a psychological study of the negro understands him better, perhaps, than he understands himself as to what is meant by social equality. Therefore he, the negro, or the ignorant element of any other race, is not responsible if the impression is gained that he is in favor of social equality.

But the educated negro is fully conscious of its meaning and knows more about his own views upon the subject than any white man with equal ability could possibly know. Therefore, the educated negro is absolutely opposed to social equality, and has always been. He is happy to revolve around in the social circles of his own race. There is no mistake about it. He demands, however, equal opportunity in business and politics. He desires that all men shall respect his rights and compels himself to respect the rights of others, to the best of his ability, according to law.

Yours truly, A. L. Settle.

Jersey City, Oct. 27, 1921.

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# "The Soul of America"

Kansas City Sun 2/26/21

President-Elect Warren G. Harding has made a distinct impression on the Colored people of America in two particulars: with an apparent sincerity that cannot be questioned, he is tempering the practical things of life with a quality of spiritual, or human proportion that the people have not witnessed since the mighty days of Abraham Lincoln.

The presidents that most nearly approached Lincoln in this respect, with an open appeal to the Deity, were William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson has seemed to approach Divine Guidance with a kind of an air of condescention. And in the promulgation of this haughty attitude, he has been a miserable failure in reaching the Soul of America.

Mr. Harding, on repeated occasions, has declared his conviction that, regardless of "each sudden sound, and shock," as it were, "THE SOUL OF AMERICA IS ALL RIGHT,"

Continuing the spiritual atmosphere of consideration, we are lead to say: "Amen, so mote it be." Our division o fmankind likes to discuss the things of the soul. In fact, an eminent American scholar has said: "The American Negro is the only element of our population who has true spiritual force and power; the American white man is without a conscience." Of course, that is an extreme aphorism. In the things where soul force is required, it is generally admitted that we have truly our rightful share—music, religion, art, poetry, oratory. In dealing with us as a class, it must again be admitted that the white people, as a group, often impress us as being conscienceless. But why enumerate the items. With us they hang like a pall day in and out.

WHERE IS THE SOUL OF AMERICA

Is it demonstrated in injustice and the denial of human rights? Is it found in the vulgar mobs that lynch, burn at the stake, gouge out human eyes, and disembowel expectant mothers? Is it found in the filthy abode of Jim Crow Cars? Is it found in the malicious segregation in the United States departmental offices in Washington, the nation's capital? Is it found amid ravages and terrors of the Ku Klux Klan? Is it found in the willful and rapacious denial of suffrage with the threats of gun and rope? Is it found in the unfair distribution of taxes, and the scant education offered in ramshackle school buildings? Is it found in the public parks, elevators, restaurants, hotels, and the like, bearing the sign "NEGROES AND DOGS NOT ALLOWED!"?

The SOUL OF AMERICA, we are looking for it in the name of the same God to whom the next President looks for guidance. We are looking for it with fear and trembling, lest without it we find ourselves doomed unto destruction. We remember it is written, "Vengeance is Mine, I Will Repay, Saith the Lord." And from a survey of facts and conditions, it appears to us that a terrible debt is being piled up in our America against that day.

America, beloved America, victim of sin and circumstance, we most fervently and reverently pray that thy soul may be found. We have lived with thee and for thee, and, as a child trusteth his parent, so have we trusted thee. But, dear America, thee hast been false to us. Thou hast promised us, only to deny, kill and destroy. From Attucks to Argonne, the crimson blood of our brave dead cries out, not for vengeance, but for justice and opportunity; for the things of the soul that permit "life liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We have been "kidded by experts," we are weary and our patience is sorely tried. But, nevertheless, however, in our accustomed and well known spirit of generosity, we will take one more chance, and join the nationwide searching party, zealously, earnestly, patriotically, in helping to find

"THE SOUL OF AMERICA."

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WILLIAMSPORT PA GRIT
APRIL 24, 1921

GRIT has always believed that the negro question was largely a sectional question. Years ago it printed an article from the late Booker T. Washington in which he held very much the same views, he going so far as to say that the Civil war raised important questions which had never been adjusted. Yet a sectional question, in its adjustment, may be influenced by public opinion of the country as a whole, if based on law, morals and economic considerations.

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N. Y. WORLD
OCTOBER 30, 1921

### THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The World:

I am a Southern woman and stoutly deny the malicious charges made by Clara Stillman against the South and its people.

Nowhere are the negroes better treated than in the South, and the mere fact of their remaining in a country where they are not compelled to fully demonstrates how false her accusations are. The negro knows his best friend is the South and is satisfied until such articles as Clara Stillman writes tend to create a bitter feeling among the ignorant, illiterate class of negroes, causing trouble. The educated negro, I am sure, will pay no attention to it, as he is more capable of judging how untrue her assertions are.

Any one having any knowledge of the South is aware of the facilities of the public schools for negroes. They are large buildings and compare with those for the white children. Every negro child can have an education if he cares to take it. He has the same advantages in that line that the white child has.

The Southern theatres have balconies for the colored people where they may enjoy all the fine drama and music that the white people have, if they care to. The parks have certain days for their pleasures. They have their churches and the "Jim Crow" cars are the same the white people use, only divided off. The negroes are no more "huddled" in their part than the white people are in theirs.

The negro in the South comprises almost one-half of the population. Imagine our crowded subways half and half jammed together. Just such conditions exist in our Southern cities, and we can readily understand why they have to make the distinction.

Before making her statements Clara Stillman should have been fully apprised of the situation, and in justice to the Southern people I refute her charges.

A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

Brooklyn, Oct. 27.

Race Problem – 1921.
United States.

COLORED PEOPLE ARE TOLD TO FOLLOW EXAMPLES OF THE ~~BEST PEOPLE AND~~ NOT DE-SPARE BECAUSE OF INJUSTICE PRACTICES.

Reporter
12/24/21

# MAKE EVERY EFFORT COUNT

### The Negro Is a Distinct Group In American Life. The Jew Is Cited As An Example of Persecution And Subjected To The Lynch Laws And Discrimination.

**Editorial Note:**

Dr. B. F. Riley, a well-known Baptist minister of the white race, a College professor, and a writer of national fame, has furnished for this issue of The Reporter an article, a discussion of race and interracial duty, making plain in the statement the qualities that make for individual and race betterment. It is an expresion of lofty thought, picturing examples of practical use, and coming as it does from a matured, cultured and religious mind makes the expression worthy of consideration and one to be accepted as a guide to humanity.

The optimistic view of Dr. Riley's expression of the Negro race, is encouraging indeed, and his praise of the worthy members of the race, as well as his sympathetic condemnation of the unworthy element, will be met by thoughtful members as remarks suitable and acceptable at this period of our career. The meat of the article is its persuasion, or counsel, on character building as a guide to race building. And it might be said in the same sense regarding the plan of approach by race members into the affairs of state and nation.

The Editor of this publication quite agrees with the purpose of this article, and we publish it because it carries the thought and plan that will solve problems so much discussed and so many times mystified by unwholesome and thoughtless arguments. While the world is more irratic now than in many years past, just at this period is when the Negro race, while not sparing any moments in its effort to receive justice, must, at the same time be just in its disposition, fair in its complaints, manly in its demands and citizenlike in its demeanor.

Here is Dr. Riley's article:

## WHAT ABOUT IT?

(By Dr. B. F. Riley.)

When I was a schoolboy, I was much impressed by a piece in one of the old-fashioned readers, the subject of which was—"There is no Excellence with Great Labor." This is as true of one thing that comes within the sphere of human efforts as another. In this connection I propose to discuss it in relation to race-building.

With all its ups and downs, its trials and tossings, the Negro race has been not a little favored. Many millions of dollars have been spent in education alone, for the enlightenment of the race. Very many of the race, both of men and women have availed themselves of these advantages, and as a result they are the outstanding representatives of the colored race in the churches, in the homes, in business, in the professions, in literature, and in the general current of life.

While all this is creditably true, there are far too few of the race who have done this. But one thing has been learned, and that is there is established by that which has been done by those who have availed themselves of advantage, the fact of the great capability of the colored race. It is an old axiom in military movements that an army can go where one man can, which leads me to say that just as those who are the advanced guard of the colored race have accomplished, so many thousands more could have done. This is not said in the way of censure, but stated as a fact, and is stated as a fact not to upbraid but to stimulate.

As a distinct race the Negro holds a peculiar place in American life. The conditions of that life are also peculiar. This position and these peculiar conditions need to be studied and reckoned with by the members of the race themselves. No colored man or woman of ordinary intelligence can fail to recognize the fact that, after all, everyone must be the maker of his own character. Others may help, may make many suggestions, give much advice, and in emergencies or tight places, afford substantial aid, but after all this has been done, the individual must make himself. He must learn to turn to practical account every advantage afforded in such way as to make him better fitted for life, and most of all to make one a better man or woman.

It is neither improper nor unfair to say that thousands of the race have not done this, while multitudes of others have, and herein lies the difference between two distinct classes of the race. Oftener than is known certain colored men and women are alluded to by the whites, as models of a high racial type. There are not a few excellent spirits among the colored people of the Birmingham district to whom allusion is frequently made, yet they know nothing of it. The present writer has in mind a group of excellent colored people, both of men and women, who go quietly about their daily affairs, modest, unassuming, industrious, honest, never concerning themselves about croaking and murmuring against others, or against some fancied fate. They assume no airs of importance, never annoy others, attend to their own business, and live peaceable and honorable lives. If an attempt were made to disturb anyone of these, by anybody, a legion of the best whites would promptly rally to his rescue, though these white friends may not at the time be known. These excellent people have a high standard of character and conform to it, and in thus doing they win wider approbation than they know of.

But is it not a fact that this class, or group, is often envied by others of the race? Are they not often accused of bootlicking the white people in order to gain favor or advantage? Are they not sometimes unpopular with their own people because they command the respect of the most influential whites? Yet compare the lives of the members of this group with those of the accusers, and the accused would be weighed and found wanting.

There is another fact that needs to be plainly stated. I have said that the Negro stands a distinct group in American life. The worthy element of the race would count for much more than it does, but for the incubus of the unworthy part of the race. A Negro criminal not only calls down trouble on his own head, but by his crookedness he involves to a degree the entire race of which he is a member. In the very unfair estimation of many thousands of hostile critics of the colored race, the bad Negro is taken as a criterion of all his people. While this is unjust, it is a fact, and with practical facts we must have to do in handling this interracial question. To write otherwise than frankly here would really be unfriendly to the interests of the race of which I have long been a pronounced friend, as multitudes of colored people well known.

It seems to me that that those viciously inclined should be at least somewhat deterred in their course by the fact that the worthy men and women of the race are made to suffer because of the criminality of some. A sense of race pride and honor should serve to hold in check the misdoing of some, since it so seriously involves the whole of the people. There should be erected a high standard of race character. Yet this cannot be so long as many are indifferent to the general welfare of the race. If the race would strive to come up alongside those who might be named in this connection, everyone of whom is an ornament to the race, distrustfulness would end, and there would be no race troubles, race friction, and not even a race question. All difficulties would disappear, the general worth of the race would be elevated, confidence and respect would be shown, and race clamor would cease.

Writing in the same direct way, it is not too much to say that the destiny of the black race is in its own hands. Many of the best men and women of the colored race are discouraged as much on account of the failure of the race to measure up to its possibilities as by anything else. Nor is this at all justifying the unbecoming censure to which the black people are so often subjected by hostile whites. It is only a statement of a practical fact growing out of the peculiar conditions in the South. Before an adjustment can come, in my opinion, there must be established a race policy of merit by means of which misapprehensions will be removed, and race merit fixed.

Take, for example, the career of the Jews in England. During a period of more than three hundred years a Jew was not suffered to set foot on English soil. Before this, they were beaten, hanged, their homes were burned, and Jews were destroyed wherever found. Finally the race was expelled from the nation. They were conveyed to desolate isles and turned loose in the midst of starving conditions. After many generations they began to creep back into England in spite of laws against them, were careful to make themselves indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and by degrees came to hold the pursestrings of the nation and indeed of all Europe. Since that time the names of great Jews have adorned English annals. They asserted themselves not in a clamorous way, but practically, and honors, wealth, and distinction came. Races as well as individuals must at last rely on the force of character. See today the difference between the American Union and the Mexican Republic, divided only by an invisible line, but the poles apart in point of character.

For several years, I have given expression of my interest in behalf of the colored race in these columns. The race has abundant capability if it were only wisely turned to practical use. The colored race has abundant advantage and opportunity right here in the Birmingham district, if these were only properly employed, as it is by some of the worthy of the black race. Many clamor for recognition in one direction and another, while the way to get recognition is as a race to show itself worthy of it on the solid basis of character.

I have writen plainly, but nothing but interest in the welfare of the race would have called out this message.

B. F. RILEY.

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# START WAR TO STIFLE JIM CROW

Chicago Defender

### Brutal and Uncivilized Practice to Get Serious Notice January 1st

12/11/21

The war against the Jim Crow shame of the United States is on. The battle will be a bloodless struggle, but a battle all the same. Having called the world to prayer, the United States itself will now be called to repentance.

The shame of civilization, the disgrace of the "world's greatest country," is the fact that one-eighth of its population is left, like a stray dog, to the mercy of the brutal element of the nation's people. A race 100 per cent true is handed treatment under the eyes of its own government that no civilized society in all the world has ever permitted any people to bear.

The Jim Crow laws of the United States must go!

The Four-Power Pact having joined hands to right all things in this world for 10 years, a Race 13,000,000 strong has joined hands to right a single wrong, a wrong and a crime, a crime against the earliest principle of any religion, let alone that of Christianity.

### Greatly Humiliated

That wrong is the burden imposed, on an inoffensive and loyal people, those who fought to save this nation when those who do them wrong were fighting with every nerve stretched to destroy this nation.

The crime is that the government, which is supported by that Race, supported in war and peace with an adoration with which the ancients regarded the gods and things belonging to the gods, condones the wrong and refuses to lift a finger to save its own people from humiliation.

Maybe this country will continue to be the "beacon light" to all men, but soon or late the world will find out how cruel this nation is to those who have asked nothing harder than to die for their land in war and be allowed to live for their land in time of peace.

No! the nation has said: no, you are those whom Lincoln freed only yesterday, and you are dark and black, and you hold in your veins a blood we have been taught to hate.

Nevertheless, the Race has decided that freemen set themeslves free if they make the effort. No one will call to hate. Boasting words will not be employed. The flag will not be threatened nor high officials abused.

But by action and by word this will be a campaign of protest. If you board a street car in the slave section of the country, hand in your fare with a prayer in your heart and a word of simple protest on your lips. As you ride, sit quietly, think and be silent among yourselves and with others riding with you.

### Laws Must Go

The Jim Crow laws of the United States must go. The United States, greatest of all countries, is doomed, and will follow the great nations of ancient times unless every Jim Crow law is wiped from the books and from men's hearts and every citizen is measured by a standard of universal character.

Take the railroad train for your destination; pray in secret as you take your ticket from the hands of the seller, and protest in silence if necessary. Do not ask God to "deal damnation around the land," but entreat Him to have mercy on wicked men who work the destruction of a great nation.

Take pen and ink and write to your congressman and your senator; write daily, if the spirit prompts you. Occasionally drop a note to your President, Warren G. Harding, White House, Washington, D. C.

Bitter words must not be used; grievous words still stir up anger. Simply ask, "How long will men of our country hold out against the judgments of God?" Then ask, in simple phrase, if our great men have read history. Maybe they will see that the Race knows something of the records of the past.

Everything Jim Crow must go.

Jim Crow schools, Jim Crow cars, Jim Crow stations and Jim Crow Negroes!

A nation-wide campaign will be inaugurated. We will make the press of the United States marvel that we have learned to wrtie so well, and set on fire the hearts of our young people, among whom there is a trace of bitterness.

### Talked Too Much

If the write men of the United States, drunk on pleasure and power, will not save themselves, we must save them.

Bootlickers and intellectual crawfish will not join the effort to both serve a coutnry and save a people, but time will bring them around. Waste no time in arguing with them.

Unless they want it, slavery cannot be fastened on 13,000,000 people. Slavery is dead; now the fruits of slavery must also die.

Pick no quarrels, draw no sword, level no gun, shed no blood, but trouble the consciences of men and trust God.

On January 1, 1922, we will move on the enemy. The Jim Crow laws must go!

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NEW YORK HERALD
DECEMBER 28, 1921

## Crimes and the Races.

### Southern Whites Upheld in Their Attitude Toward Negroes.

To THE NEW YORK HERALD: It is a shame that the gentleman who signs himself "R." in his letter on "Crimes and the Races" should present his statements in a way that is sure to arouse resentment. In saying that Southern law is unjust, that Southern lawmakers are unreasonable and that Southern whites force the negro into a state of slavery he has made three very ill considered statements. The war is over these fifty-six years and looking backward on the great achievements accomplished by the Southerner and his Northern brother 99 out of every 100 Southerners are happy in the knowledge that our Union was preserved.

It is natural that white men should make the laws, that white men should interpret them, that white men should execute and that white men should persecute. This is a white man's country. That white men do all this in the South seems to imply in "R.'s" mind that the laws are unjust. White men do all this, not because they hold the negro in a state of slavery but because there are more white men and the majority rules.

The South has handled the negro with great success considering the proportion of negroes to whites. The negro has his schools and universities, the two greatest in the country being located in the South, namely, Hampton and Tuskegee. He votes if he has tangible property and he runs for office. A negro named Mitchell was recently a candidate for nomination for the Governorship of Virginia. Why blame the white man if the negro fails because in the minority?

If "R." has solved the negro problem his fame is assured and by making it public he will undoubtedly receive the acclaim of a grateful nation. However, before making it public I suggest as a test that he take up his residence in the South for a year, for I believe before the expiration of that time his opinion will have undergone a change.

VIRGINIAN.

NEW YORK, December 27.

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## SECOND COLORED WORLD DEMOCRACY DOCUMENT—DIRECT PETITION TO ARMS PARLEY FOR HEARING—

### The Petition

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion church,
14th and Corcoran Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
December 12, 1921.

To the World's Peace and Limitation of Armament Conference,
Hon. Charles E. Hughes, Chairman.
Pan American Building,
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Delegates:

Since the full and ultimate purpose of this Worlyd Armament Limitation Conference is the cessation of human warfare and the accomplishment of the lasting peace of the world, and since therefore it is pertinent, if not incumbent upon your Honorable body to consider basic causes of recurrent shedding of blood by warfare's weapons.

Therefore the Second Colored World Democracy Congress of Colored Americans in Convention under the auspices of the National Equal Rights League in the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion church, Washington, District of Columbia, asks for an opportunity to present to the delegates of the High Contracting Parties, facts and arguments showing the menace to real World Peace by the denial of equality of races, by the notorious injustices to persons of color and by non-protection of racial minorities in the domains of this our own country and of others of your High Contracting Parties.

This opportunity we pray in behalf of the Colored millions among humans and in conjunction with any other like applicants if any such there is.

M. A. N. Shaw, Chairman of Congress, President, National Equal Rights League.
James L. Neill, Rec. Sec.
Maurice W. Spencer, Delegate.
George H. Proctor, Delegate.
William Monroe Trotter, Delegate

Race Problem - 1921.
United States

NEW HAVEN CONN COURIER
MARCH 23, 1921

## The Negro Menace And Hope.

THERE are many who do not know that the question of the twelve million colored people in the United States is passing to a new phase and carries some extremely sober aspects. The magazines have of late increased information; the movement north of half a million negroes attracted attention, as did the participation most creditably in the war of four hundred thousand of their men. Most of all the abhorrent lynchings and the riots keep the public mind agitated.

The fact is the old mammy and the faithful Uncle Tom have passed away. They played an honored role, but that chapter is closed. For the development of the race perhaps it is well, a more ambitious type moves on the stage. If the whites in the south had been faithful in their trusteeship and the nation not less so, there might now be much more to report. As it is, there is not a little leadership, educated men in the professions and the like. A striking thing is the recent multiplication of papers devoted to their interests. There are hundreds of them. Indianapolis has six; New York City, ten; Mississippi has nineteen, Illinois eleven, etc. Every negro family is in touch with efforts to secure rights for the race. Especially the unhappy things are chronicled; the cruelties to which colored people are subjected because they are colored are recited, and a marked race-consciousness is developing. And there is a definite outcry against these wrongs, with less of the patience and submission of 20 years ago. The talk of democracy sounds hollow to the negro in many of its phases.

The lynchings are sometimes not only inhumane and fiendish but absolutely without basis of justification. One has but to conceive of those related to him by the loosest ties being subjected to these horrors, even where guilt is present, to picture the desperation of the mind that feels itself friendless and helpless. There is a type of brutal black, as there is of white, but too readily is it assumed a negro was the offender. The whites of the land, even good men and women, have drifted into what is scarcely less than a propaganda to associate outbreaks in the cities of the south and the border states with the black, often when facts do not bear it out. The race riots, we believe trace not to the black but to the prejudice and insulting arrogance of the white, in most cases, whatever the incident when a personal wrong becomes a mob frenzy. The wholesale disenfranchisement of the black is not a condition that can run on without consequences. The offensive official separation of the races in public places is an irritant; more serious is the economic oppression the colored man suffers, not from the best of southern whites but the worst—cheated in his commercial dealings, beaten, perhaps killed if he protests—suffering many forms of cruelty by reason of the over-lordship of ignorant, conscienceless and inhumane whites. The negro claims he and his are kept in ignorance by reason of inferior schooling privileges.

These grim facts are recited to inform many who live on in the belief that there is no negro question; that the southern white "understands" him and will care for him; that time will solve the problem. Our reading and observation indicate that the issue was perhaps never more vital that at present. A dozen cities have known what severe and alarming affairs are race riots.

The negro has got to a point where only justice will make him content, loyal and peaceful. As with the Oriental situation, the future is within our power, but we must not sleep on the occasion. The issue is largely with the south but not wholly. The "poor white" with his theory of black inferiority and a "white man's country" seems a hopeless barrier to a solution, but with freedom of movement and the opportunity to go elsewhere the "cracker" hesitates at times. Congress may be able to assert the dignity of worthy negroes. The offensive Ku-Klux movement is reported as waning, the best southern journals concluding that a secret imperium in imperio promises anything but quiet. One of the fine aspects is the formation in seven hundred communities, in the south, of conferences of high class whites who meet with colored men as to their common interests. Justice and kindness—the way out lies here. The "Jim Crow" car must go. Such cruel absurdity as the refusal of eleven states to legally recognize bastardy, which yet forbid inter-marriage must be rectified. It must be "bad form" to insult these people; gentle folk of north and south must set the example to the coarse ones who are the chief offenders. The political issue is not simple but however concealed the wise course, justice always lies in the open.

There could not be a better disposed, a more responsive people to good will than the colored American. But this nation may not drift and neglect its responsibility with this ninth part of the population without reaping a whirlwind.

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## THE ONLY SOLUTION.

In a recent issue of the Flint (Mich.) Saturday Night there was a long discussion of the Negro question. Mr. Arthur Pound, the writer of the article, treats the question from a number of points of view, but after all when he had finished he had merely run around in a circle.

New York Age 3/19/21

To begin with, he lays down the definite statement that the year 3000 A. D. may see white Americans, through intermarriage, reduced to a type as clearly defined as the Frenchman of today, but that side by side with that white American will be living a black American; that it is impossible to eliminate the black by cross-breeding, and equally impossible to eliminate him by deportation, or in any other way open to civilized man.

This statement he follows by what appears to be his solution: that since white and black are going to stay in America as white and black for an indefinite period, the races must choose between discord and concord; and if concord be the goal, each must attempt to grasp the other's good points and emphasize those while overlooking faults.

This is the standard solution of the problem, the "safe and sane" solution that can be preached anywhere and at any time. But the writer in the Flint Saturday Night proceeds almost in the next breath to knock out even this "Golden Rule" solution by declaring that the white man will not perform his part. After commenting on the quiet campaign carried on generally by the American Negro in the hope that some day the conscience of the country will give black citizens their due, he adds: **"I don't believe it will; our national conscience does not work in that direction at all."**

On this point we fully agree with Mr. Pound. We have no idea that some day the American white people will say to themselves, **"See here, the colored people have been patient and industrious and loyal and faithful, it is only just that we give them their full rights."** For any Negro to be sustained by such a hope is merely proof that he is of so simple and trusting a nature that he needs a guardian. **The rights are coming, but they are not coming in that way.**

Mr. Pound himself, before he gets through with his article, acknowledges that he is arguing in a circle. He says:

> "I confess that however I try to get around the Negro problem, I find myself slap up against a brick wall. The blacks are here to stay; they are citizens of the United States even though not allowed to work at it in certain quarters, and under social difficulties practically everywhere. Moreover, they are gaining in population somewhat faster than the native whites; they have made very considerable progress in two generations as free men, and they are sure to go a long way further, both in numbers and influence. But, however far they go, they will be denied political rights in the South and social privileges elsewhere as long as the whites can make the denial stick. Who so holds out hope to the contrary is no true friend of the black race."

However, in his confession of defeat in his efforts to find a solution, Mr. Pound inadvertently stumbles across the only solution. He stumbles across that solution when he says:

> "But, however far they go, they will be denied political rights in the South and social privileges elsewhere as long as the whites can make the denial stick."

**"As long as the whites can make the denial stick."** Those are the key-words. The Negro will be denied his rights and privileges

(over)

(From Over)

as long as the whites can make the denial stick, **but no longer;** and the day when the whites will be unable to make the denial stick is drawing nearer and nearer. The truth involved in this assertion is one which the American Negro must get through his head, and the sooner he does it, the easier it will be for him. **He must realize that he is not going to get his full rights and privileges in this country by merely appealing for them, or by merely being worthy of them.** He will get them only when the dominant majority is no longer able to keep him out of them.

The underlying truth here is that the Negro must possess power. Peoples all over the world who are without power are without rights. The American Negro is no exception. The American Negro must have sufficient power to make it hazardous for anybody to interfere with his common citizenship and human rights.

The primitive power by which men achieve and maintain their freedom is physical force. The situation in which the American Negro is placed compels him to find the equivalent of physical force. He must find that equivalent in organization, in an organization so strong and so united that no one will attempt to ignore or infringe upon the rights of the race without counting the cost.

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JACKSONV'E FLA METROPOLIS
APRIL 1, 1921

## PENROSE'S VIEWS ON EQUALITY OF RACES.

EVEN during the hottest period of the recent presidential campaign, and afterwards, The Metropolis emphatically expressed the belief that the South remained in the ranks of the Democratic party not because of the tariff question, not because of tradition and custom, but because of the race problem. The outcome of the campaign showed one Southern State in the Republican ranks, and the party piled up a majority in other Southern States greater than it ever received before, or will ever receive again, and the reason was that the problem was overshadowed by the League of Nations and Peace Treaty fight.

Now, strange as it may seem, after shattering the Solid South, the Republican party is deliberately insulting those white Southerners who voted its ticket, which of course means that Democrats are also being insulted.

Senator Bois Penrose, the real power behind the throne of the Republican party, in an informal address before a delegation of Philadelphia negroes recently, said:

"I see no reason why the colored man or colored woman should not be able to obtain a cup of coffee at any restaurant if they want to, or for that matter go to the hotels, cafes or other public places frequented by white persons.

"The time has long since passed when there should be any discrimination or repression toward our colored citizens. They are entitled to their rights as citizens under the constitution. They are free men under the constitution, and I believe they are entitled to full commercial and political freedom of action, especially in regard to public accommodation and utilities.

"I am glad to be able to use what influence I possess at Harrisburg, where a bill is pending to give equal rights to the negro race, to secure the passage of the measure, which has been hanging fire too long. It should be passed.

"I am glad to assist the men and women of the colored race to remove the inequality and discrimination to which they are now subjected."

The Southern people also believe that the colored man is entitled to his rights as a citizen under the constitution, but social equality is something not to be considered for a moment, and that really is the unspoken meaning of Senator Penrose's remarks. It is talk of this kind that has caused friction between the races in the past. It can cause more friction in the future. The South is the negro's best friend—when the negro is in his proper place, which does not mean that he must not enjoy "liberty, life and the pursuit of happiness," but nature drew indelible lines between the races in creation, and forever these lines must be observed. Deep in his heart Senator Penrose does not believe in racial equality; at least no self-respecting white man could, and statements such as he made are inspired by political designs, unless the boss of the Republican party thinks he can bear with a little of it if the South is forced to endure a great deal of it. But the South will never countenance it for a moment. Senator Penrose and his gang can stir up strife and incite the colored race to a false conception of justice, but after all has been said and done, the South will remain uncontaminated.

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WASHINGTON D. C. HERALD
APRIL 9, 1921

## Americanized Negroes.

THE negroes are not in the United States of their own free will. They are not immigrants. They were forced to come as slaves. When they were freed, they were made citizens and given the franchise. Whether this was wise or foolish, it is useless to discuss. It is a fact. This makes them not only a trust as having been brought by force and then freed; but their numbers make them a most important problem in our national life as a government.

What is being done to Americanize the negro? It is true that they know no other country, they have no other allegiance; they are loyal to this flag, and glory in their citizenship. But that, much as it is, is not all of Americanization, any more than it fulfills this country's obligation to these people. To meet the requirements of American citizenship, there must be an intelligent realization of the voting privilege and its responsibilities, and there must be developed whatever capacity there is for industrial service.

The right place to give and secure these qualities is in the schools, day and night. Every city's school system should be modeled with this object in view. Tuskegee, the negroes' own school, is the right model. Booker T. Washington knew his people, their capacity, their needs and their character. He gave to them in this school only what every city can and should give its negro population.

Richmond, Va., also has a model school system for the colored people. It develops their greatest usefulness. It gives them responsibility and contentment. It increases their earning capacity and with this comes, as always, the substance of self-respect and of the steadying influence of larger earnings with property holding. Negroes are by nature trustful. They are in the large sense children in their relation to the big world, because they have been left to be children. They have not been taught to grow up, and gain adult views of their relations to others, and to each other.

In Richmond, as at Tuskegee, the school courses for the negroes center around hand work. With rare exceptions they must be hand workers and are best fitted for this. For the boys in day school, and for the older ones in night school, there are taught the elements of the many crafts. The girls, and their elders, are taught sewing, millinery, cooking, home-making, the care of children, etc. To have night schools for whites or blacks and only teach them from text books, is a sort of mockery in these modern times.

The North does not have much of the negro population. Its problem is that of immigrant foreigners, but it is the same with a like demand, and there, as here, Americanization must center in night schools, if it is to have anything of real substance. Many cities are realizing this, and go where you will, if there is a genuinely modern school system, the best equipped schools, with the most complete vocational system will usually be found in the industrial centers where live those of least income, but greatest needs.

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Harding's Message To Congress

Somewhat related to the foregoing human problems is the race question. Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly, representative democracy. We face the fact that many millions of people of African descent are numbered among our population, and that in a number of states they constitute a very large proportion of the total population. It is unnecessary to recount the difficulties incident to his condition, nor to emphasize the fact that it is a condition which cannot be removed. There has been suggestion, however, that some of its difficulties might be ameliorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects, and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a nationl attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations beween the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing representatives of both races, to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that in mutual tolerance, understanding, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship, lies the road to righteous adjustment. It is needless to call your attention to the unfinished business inherited from the preceding congress. The appropriation bills for army and navy will have your early consideration.

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BOSTON MASS HERALD
APRIL 25, 1921

## A WORD ON THE RACE QUESTION

To the Editor of The Herald:

Let us hope that some New Englander at the Grady birthday will have the courage to say to the southerners something like this:

"My friends, we of the North will never again march with guns and drums to war with you over the colored man. More than half a century ago we spilled rivers of blood and expended billions of wealth in an effort to restore you to the union and separate you from the colored folk. We restored the political union after more than four years of mutual slaughter, but it has taken most of the last half-century to restore the union of hearts. We did not succeed in separating you from the colored man; we merely changed your mutual relations. In the crude language of an earlier time, gentlemen, he is still 'your nigger,' and more significant yet, you are still his white man. You know him better than any of us further north have yet been able to know him, and the duty and responsibility rests upon you to live with him on tolerable terms. Yours is this tremendous race problem, and we can only help you with sympathy and suggestion; we can not profitably help you with self-righteous criticism, and we admit that we should find the problem cruelly hard had we as large a proportion of the colored race in New England as you have here. Let me, however, throw out one hint, and that is that the prosperity and happiness of all is bound up with the prosperity and content of those who do the rough labor of any community, and, furthermore, labor can not be effective for its own purposes and for those of the employer if the laborer works without hope and is excluded from a voice in the government and a fair share in the progress of the community in which he lives and labors."

E. N. VALLANDIGHAM.
Chestnut Hill, April 22.

Race Problem — 1921.

United States.

## GOOD ADVICE

HATTIESBURG MISS AMERICAN
JUNE 23, 1921

At the conclusion of a running discussion of the "Achievements of the Republican Party" by Senator Pat Harrison, in which a number of senators participated, most of them Democrats, Senator Tom Watson of Georgia, said:

"Mr. President, I hope that no senator will object while I ask to have read at the desk a letter from a Georgia negro, a one-horse tenant, written to the editor of my home-town paper and published in that paper in the state, of course, which, in part, I represent. I will ask the secretary to read the marked letter as a kind of epilogue to the speech of the senator from Mississippi." And this is the letter:

> Dear Mr. Editor: Allow me to speak to the colored subscribers of the McDuffie Progress about the conditions we are now living in.
>
> Instead of complaining about the condition, get busy and prepare for the future. Now is the time to fatten the pig of your next year's meat. While the grass is growing, pull grass, pull weeds. It don't take corn alone to make meat. There is more lard in trash for hogs in summer than lard in corn in winter.
>
> Get busy! Get it out of your minds about you don't know what you are going to do. Get a move on you and show the world what you are doing. Now is the time to prepare for the future. Plant your corn and fatten your hogs. Don't think it takes so many hogs to the family. I have six in family and I only kill two or three hogs for three years. We don't buy meat, lard, corn, nor fodder, by hustling from May until harvest time. I begin to plant as soon as the season will allow until the last of July or August 1.
>
> I live on a little farm of Mr. W. C. Gibson's. I am cutting grain today and fixing to plant peas and corn. I live 12 miles from town.
>
> I will renew my subscription soon, Mr. Editor. If this is not fixed right, please fix it. From a Georgia farmer. I lives in the forks of the creek.
>
> MADISON EMORY.
>
> June 1, 1921.

If better advice has ever been given to the negro or anybody else, it has escaped our attention. The simple but fundamental philosophy of it is that by taking advantage of opportunities that are at hand the reward of plenty and contentment are certain. This humble farmer is evidently in a happy frame of mind. The assured prospect of an amply provided smoke-house and a burst corn-crib, with all that they connot, soothes his spirit and leaves no condition that germinates discontent and a desire for revenge upon his supposed oppressors.

The wasted opportunities of the negro race in the South cannot easily be estimated. But he is not wholly to blame for not improving them. It is the duty of the whites to lead them into the ways of providence and thrift. There is scarcely a negro in the South who cannot obtain freely a portion of fertile land upon which he can by intensive cultivation produce an abundance with which to supply his family for the year, without resort to the store. A Yankee or a native of Europe would grow rich in a few years with such an opportunity.

Negroes thus engaged, with their efforts guided and encouraged by those whom they regard as more fortunate, would present a shallow and infertile soil for the propagandists of their own race and others who are now sowing discord and hate among them. And by a certain law of human nature the reaction upon the benefactor would be wholesome. Such a course will do far more for the gradual and permanent improvement of the negro race than all the modern but misguided uplift of which he is at present the victim.

It should be noted that the writer of the letter which we have quoted is a citizen of Georgia, that Southern state which has recently had so much criticism to bear in connection with the racial issue. In this respect, Georgia, despite its proud and deserved history and character for excellence, is held up as a horrible example, much like the village drunkard was once used to point the moral of the temperance lecturer. The village drunkard was never in the majority; neither are the sporadic outbursts of passion and injustice which have received so much publicity indicative of the real spirit of the Empire State of the South.—Commercial-Appeal.

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## CAN NEGROES WIN?

Richmond Planet 5/2/21.

The question is being asked. "Can Negroes win?" This relates to their struggles in obtaining civil justice, civil and political equality and that official recoginition, to which they are entitled under the laws of this country. It is indeed a momentous question and it demands an answer. Individually speaking there is but one answer. They are alreadq winning but can this selfish policy of individualism get this people to the table land of prosperity as a race, where they will not be handicapped by racial characteristics?

We are frank to say that we do not believe that they can win along the lines marked out by the average individual. Thousands of colored people have an antipathy to their own people and will join in with white people to deride and belittle them. Much of this has come through the sources, where money has been contributed by philanthropists for the education and betterment of a people known as Negroes and regarded in the same category with the tribes of Africa or the Indians upon the plains of the Far West.

But there are thousands of "new day Negroes." They have been educated in the schools and colleges of the country and while professing an equality with all other citizens with their mouths, away down in their "heart of hearts," they believe the teachings engrafted in them in southern schools that they are inherently inferior and that "they are nothing but a Negro,, no how." Can this manner and method be obliterated save by organized concerted effort, backed by money? Leading colored men have seen the danger of all of this and have vainly attempted to organize the Negroes of the country.

It has required money to do this and when the call for money has been made, the "Negro has just gone." This has been disheartening. Of course, some have put up some money, but the amount has been so small when a comparison is made of the work that is to be done, that it has caused a feeling of despondency to seize most of those engaged in the work. If five thousand dollars are raised, it is regarded as being too much money and if ten thousand dollars are available, it is regarded as too much money. And yet, what can men like Dr. William E. Du Bois, Editor William Monroe Trotter, Rev. Dr. W. H. Jernigan, do with ten thousand dollars in a campaign, where five hundred thousand dollars are needed?

The Hebrews talk very little, when it comes to money and then start out a most powerful propaganda after the money is raised. The amount is the smallest part of the business. The campaign waged by the Prohibitionists represented many millions. They were contending for a principle and when the women came into the limelight in demanding Woman's Suffrage, they made no secret of the golden waves that lashed upon the shores of the opposition until, a calm came and their bark was brought safely into port. But colored folks, sometimes called Negroes cannot trust each other enough to give them the necessary funds to conduct a campaign in their own interest.

If they think a race leader has secured a million dollars, they become frantic. They forget the principles for which they are contending. They are thinking of the golden flood that fails to reach either their front door or their back gate. We are of the opinion then, when this individualism as to action becomes broadened into that universal brotherhood between one colored individual and another, then will come the dawn of the day, when all of our rights and privileges shall be secured by the action of our own leaders, duly chosen and substantially backed by money enough to make their pleas for our absolute recognition heard and granted not only in this country, but in the chancelleries of Europe.

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negro World 7/9/21

## THE RACE CONFLICT

The meeting here of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gives Detroit a subject to ponder, if we can force our minds to a hard task in this weather.

Throughout the South the association is blamed for the "arrogance" of Negroes, and its representatives have been assaulted and driven from southern communities.

There are few full-blooded Africans in this country, and it is safe to say that among the leaders of the N. A. A. C. P. are few, if any, who can claim a pedigree reaching undiluted back to tribal ancestors.

To those who admire Negro character, nothing is more depressing than the groping of the race to get away from itself. In many Negro publications the word Negro is not used. "Race" "Liberian," and other euphonisms are employed; the expression of frank racial pride is seldom encountered.

Endeavor of the Negro to be something else than Negro should not arouse the contempt of any thoughtful white men. Oppression, prejudice, exploitation have driven the Negro to shun the very name of his race.

The outcry of a man like Dr. Du Bois, who is a Negro only by a small percentage of his total heredity, is nothing less than tragic. His spirit can find no resting place; he laments in the shadow of misunderstanding and maladjustment.

The Jew has endured in past cen-

(From Over)

turies even more than the Negro is called upon to endure in the most benighted regions of the South. He has held, however, to pride of race and, with the Gentile world often denying him every human right, never has hesitated to declare, "I am a Jew!"

It is not for us to advise the Negro. His plight in America is beyond the counsel of even the most self-confident publicist. The advice given to him is mostly impossible of acceptance. And it is equally useless to attempt to advise the kind of white men who bring into being the most radical phases of the Negro movement. Perhaps the future will find some happy solution of a dreadful problem. Meanwhile the colored man or woman of the highest courage will say:

"The strong blood of a great people is in my veins. I am a Negro, and proud of it!"—The Detroit Daily Times.

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DETROIT MICH FREE PRESS
JULY 18, 1921

## DISCUSSES SOUTH'S HANDLING OF NEGROES

To the Editor: In a recent issue of your paper there appeared a letter to the public signed "Ex-Virginian," which I offer as an excuse for this intrusion of your columns.

Discussion of the race question is similar to a discussion of religious creeds—you get nowhere—therefore this letter is not to be considered as a summing up of the race question, but as a reminder to your correspondent and to others who read your columns that all sections of the south did not hate Lincoln; in fact, I do not believe any section hated him; individuals, possibly, but not the south as a whole, or any section of it as a whole.

My life in the south covers a portion of that period when a northerner was referred to as a "damned Yankee," but not once in that time did I hear Lincoln or the north, condemned as bitterly as the ex-Virginian condemns the south—and he a southerner. His condemnation reminds me very much of the late Colonel Ingersoll's bitter denunciation of the south in his speech before the first assembly of the G. A. R. at Indianapolis years ago.

The most ludicrous of statements is that of slave-owners marching their slaves in droves to the ballot boxes, compelling them to vote in order to overcome the voting strength of the non-slave owners.

Slave owners composed a very small percentage of the white people, and I fail to see how this particular class of people, so hopelessly in the minority, could so readily force their will upon their immediate neighbors, who composed an intelligent majority. Every law of the south, then as now, repudiates that statement, as a slave had no legal status as a voter.

The ex-Virginian, in his argument that southern slave owners were responsible for the existence of slavery, is not as charitable toward his own people as northern historians have been. Slavery by no means originated in this country, but the slavery of white men did exist in this country long before black slavery.

The first blacks sold into slavery in the New World were purchased by the New Englanders, and a short time later this form of slavery was introduced into the southern colonies, through Virginia.

This free labor proved a valuable asset to the southern colonists, at the same time proving itself a menace to the prosperity of New England. The New Englanders hastened to dispose of their human chattels to the southern neighbors in order to avoid costly transportation to the poor house.

Did these good people sell their slaves because of religious scruples, or as a matter of principle? Assuredly, they did not. It was a cold business proposition—a matter of dollars and cents, if you please—with both sides—so why malign the people of the south for a wrong in which they merely hold a partnership?

It is true that Abraham Lincoln, as President, did suggest buying the slaves from their owners and give them their freedom at the expense of the entire country. This was the only logical solution of the question; but if the south howled down such a plan, what was the north doing in the meantime? Nothing much, except howling louder and longer.

Since the passion of that terrible conflict passed away, I do not think any one has seriously questioned Lincoln's policy, but Lincoln could have no more forced his pet scheme through congress then than Woodrow Wilson could force his through, though on a different subject, 60 years later.

Never in history has a President been so bitterly assailed as was Lincoln. Spared by neither friend nor foe, he fought for principles he believed right, aided only by the power of his great office and a wonderful intellect.

His most trusted lieutenants, Seward and Stanton, were not in sympathy with his ideas regarding reconstruction in the south, while leaders in both houses of congress openly flouted him, personally and politically. These men decreed that all southerners, except those who swore allegiance to the Union cause, should be treated as criminals, their property confiscated, and the one-time masters and mistresses made to serve their former slaves. Legal cases, criminal and civil, were to be tried before illiterate judges and jurymen. These same men, or others of their class, were to constitute the law-making bodies of the various states, and to occupy executive positions.

Such tactics resulted in the birth of the "Invincible Empire of the South," which maintained white supremacy for years, and which had, at the end of twelve years after the close of the Civil War, overthrown every carpet-bagger officeholder and returned the reins of government to those to whom they rightfully belonged.

Why the south has been, and is being, so bitterly condemned I cannot understand. It has been 25 or 30 years (with one exception, Knoxville, 1919) since the south has witnessed such scenes as occurred in Washington, Chicago, East St. Louis and Omaha during the past two or three years, and the more recent affair at Tulsa.

If the race question is merely a state of mind, as your correspondent intimates, then allow me to say that the southern mind is in a tranquil state as compared to the northern and middle western. The south, at least, has never led the Negro to believe that he would eventually be accorded social or political equality, and has been more successful in handling her race problem than any other section of the country, so why go to the south to start a reform? Start at home in cleaning house; it's so much easier to know just where you stand. For your courtesy and patience, I thank you.

"A TAR HEEL."

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# BOND SPEAKS FOR WHITE CONTROL

RALEIGH N C OBSERVER
JULY 15, 1921

### But Negro Must Be Given Same Protection, He Declares

A government controlled exclusively by the white race, but giving to the negro absolutely the same degree of protection and consideration accorded the white man, was the basis for better feeling between the races laid down by Judge William M. Bond in two addresses delivered from the bench of the Wake county Superior court yesterday.

At the conclusion of the evidence yesterday morning in the case of Fred B. Saunders, Johnston county negro, who confessed his guilt to what was denominated by the court and attorneys on both sides as the most extraordinary case of burglary that has come under their observation, Judge Bond addressed the negroes in the court room, reserving sentence until 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

When the appointed hour arrived, the court room was crowded with negroes and Judge Bond repeated, in part, his observations of the morning.

"No darky is more polite to me than I am to him or her," declared Judge Bond in making the point that politeness and respect are equally incumbent upon both races.

"The colored man is here through no fault of his own ad he is here to stay and the man of either race that stirs up feeling between the races is unfair to himself and to both races; there is nothing about them to hate," he said.

"If the negroes ever leave the South, I think I shall catch the last train and go with them, for whatever else the colored man has done for the South he has kept away the undesirable Europeans that infest other sections of the country," he continued.

"But as much as I think of the colored man and as firmly as I believe in treating him with absolute impartiality I will look him square in the eye and tell him that if he has any idea of having any part in this government or any idea of social equality, he had better get those ideas out of his mind," asserted the judge in a spirit of warning.

### Sowing The Wind.

"It is also true that white women have grown to fear colored men and negroes must remove that fear or they are sowing the wind and will reap the whirlwind," continued the judge in the same strain.

Referring specifically to the prisoner at the bar, upon whom he imposed a sentence of two years on the roads, Judge Bond referred to character as the greatest of assets and paid a glowing tribute to the loyalty of the colored race in the late war.

The defendant, who served for about a year in France, presented about twelve substantial citizens of Johnston county, who vouched for the standing of himself and his family. The character witnesses included W. M. Saunders, prominent merchant of Smithfield, who stated that he had known the negro family for four generations and its superior did not exist in his county.

According to the uncontradicted evidence, the negro entered the home of N. E. Bailey, of Wake Forest, during the night of May 29, after partially undressing, being unarmed and in a drunken condition.

J. B. Hudson, a contractor who occupied a room in the Bailey home, testified that he awakened from sleep and found the negro bending over him and that the two grappled in a fierce fight, Mr. Bailey coming on the scene with a pistol and the negro escaping.

Mr. Bailey testified his wife had been severely shocked by the incident and has not yet recovered from her shocked condition. There was also evidence to the effect that two sets of tracks were found where the negro left his shoes and the State made an unsuccessful effort to identify Ed Richardson, a negro who loaned Saunders clothes, as the maker of the other tracks.

Saunders' contention was that he was completely intoxicated and had no recollection of entering the house.

Judge Bond stated that there was no evidence to disprove the negro's statement, but that homes must be protected from drunken people as well as sober ones.

A special venire of fifty jurors had been drawn to try Saunders for his life, but at the opening of court the defendant's attorneys, Armistead Jones and Son, tendered a plea of guilty of burglary in the second degree, which was accepted by Solicitor Norris.

Cases against Willis Russell, Raleigh white man indicted for manslaughter, and Mal Gunter, Apex negro charged with first degree murder, were yesterday continued until the September term.

### No Sentence On Whitaker.

Judge Bond did not pass sentence on W. E. Whitaker, prominent farmer of House Creek township, who was convicted Wednesday of illicit distilling, but heard the evidence of Dr. O. L. Ray, who testified that the prisoner is suffering from periodical attacks of colic.

The grand jury was discharged yesterday. In its report, the body commended the condition of the county jail, the county home and the convict camps. The present grand jury did not inspect the city jail, the condition of which was sharply criticised by the last grand jury at the June term of court.

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CHICAGO ILL NEWS
JULY 25, 1921

### Hopeful Progress of a Race.

Samuel, young an of color, has been studying soc Only recently the gates of a nor college swung outward ceremoniously and he emerged a graduate naively confident of the power of learning to realize the hopes of his race. Though lacking in the traditional sedentary pallor, he is a studious young man. He wrought well at his books and the prospective burdens of the universe weigh considerably upon his shoulders. Though he did not escape the sophomoric grandeurs that afflict many white boys of his age, he acquired also no less serious knowledge than do they. Sam is educationally their equal.

"Your one hope, young man," his well-intentioned sociology instructor told him, "is education and economic independence." Sam now has the education. Economic independence in a white man's world, however, he finds a different matter. He read an editorial by ex-Senator James E. Vardaman of Mississippi. "God Almighty never intended that the white man should share sovereignty and dominion with the negro in this country," wrote the ex-senator, "and the white people of Mississippi are not going to do it." Sam compared the remark with this sentence from a recent report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "A man without voice in the management of public affairs will always be exploited, lynched, discriminated against and denied opportunity." What had that to do with the fifty-seven negroes lynched in 1920, with race riots, with peonage scandals, with restless migrations of negroes from state to state?

Sam is beginning to suspect that the more education his people acquire and the more economic and political liberty they gain so much more will be the hatred felt toward them by certain classes of white people. He sees in Vardaman's positive words absolute obstruction to the progress of his race. "It is not my educational or economic condition," he says, "but my color that arouses the ex-senator's hysteria."

Was the sociology instructor wrong? He was not. The Vardamans cannot prevent the progress of the intelligent, industrious, law-abiding negro. In spite of the injustices from which he suffers, including the shameful exploitation of his race by corrupt politicians and unscrupulous industrial interests, the spread of education, good citizenship and economic independence among the colored people is proceeding more and more rapidly. They are right in their persistent belief, in spite of their many discouragements, that to cast out ignorance and build character is to conquer prejudice and overcome the Vardamans.

Race Problem - 1921.
United States

# What of the Next Generation.

The Chicago Whip - 3-28-21

When the present leaders of the black race—granting that there are some—leave this earth and enter into other worlds, will conditions in America be better for their sons and daughters, or will they be lynched, disfranchised, enslaved, insulted and murdered? If so they will be marked and cursed with the sins of their fathers.

Not with prophetic vision but with conclusions reached from facts and acts we submit that if the black race of America is not supplanted with virile, intelligent, diplomatic and courageous leadership then the next generation will be retarded, subjected and despised and from their lips volleys and torrents of curses will fall, decrying and reviling their weak-kneed, avaricious fathers.

In America several individuals have reached positions of political importance. They are scattered in various large cities where teeming thousands of their people abide, before reaching the pinnacles of prominence they were loud in denouncing the evils and injustices from which their people suffered, but once in office they forthwith adopted actions and words which would make them secure with their white bosses, and only in the rarest of instances have even parted their lips in the interests of their sons and daughters. They flew around with "foolish wings" in the "Paradise of Fools." In some States we have given birth to legislators who in turn have never conceived of constructive legislation and only gave birth to ideas of making quick, easy and dishonorable money. In other States we have produced Aldermen, Prosecuting Attorneys, Corporation Counsels, Revenue Officers who waxed fat off of the bloody toll from vice and graft.

Once upon a time we had Registers of the U. S. Treasury, Recorders of Deeds as well as an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and every blessed one closed his lips and immediately proceeded to fill his coffers with the funds within his grasp. The sons and daughters of these "leaders" will be unable to turn the pages of history and point to a single achievement that their fathers had wrought.

If when one of the fortunates gain the limelight, should he remove all ideas of selfish gain and dedicate his services to the protection and advancement of his people, who knows but that his voice, like that of Theodore Roosevelt, would not be heard all around the world. When Cincinnatus was called from the plow to the dictatorship of Rome he fought and served in the interest of his people and kind. Several times he was called back from the plow to serve. Even the Noblemen respected him because he was a man with a conviction and the courage to carry it out. How many of our past "dignitaries" would we recall and reclaim? We faintly hear the name of Frederick Douglas and none other. We have produced stalwart educators and Ecclesiasticals, but only the so-called political champions of the black have had the opportunity to change conditions when the destiny of the black people hung perilously in the political balance. All others have eaten of the forbidden fruit of graft, opened Pandora's box, sold birthrights, bartered souls and grinned and bowed themselves into shame and ignominy.

The retired and exiled "leaders" now imagine themselves secure, yet a bomb may be placed upon their doorsteps tonight, yet they would be lynched with small provocation, yet they are still "George" and "John" to the Caucasions, yet they are jim-crowed and yet, alas, what is to become of the next generation, their sons and daughters?

The authorities, led by the Springfield, Mass., Republican, agree that in the last ten years there has been a steady declination of the black man's rights in America. Lynchings have multiplied, riots have increased, segregation lines have been more sharply drawn and without a leader in Babylonian confusion, the black man has endeavored to fight back. In the South they stampede like cattle when danger is imminent. On election day they vote enmasse one ticket—Republican—knowing not whether they are to gain or lose by so doing. Unless men, action, brain and might come soon upon the scene, the next generation is doomed.

Puzzling extremely is the state of mind of fathers who do not hold the future of their children seriously. What American black man would gain a little wealth at the price of his children's liberty? The younger men of the day see the handwriting on the wall and the silence which comes before a storm tells us that they will sweep their pussy-footing, slavelike fathers away as the "chaff which the wind driveth away" in a splendid effort to save their brothers and sisters because a great impending danger looms over the next generation.

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SHAMOKIN PA DISPATCH
APRIL 22, 1921

# TRYING TO SOLVE THE RACE QUESTION

Race hatred cannot be wiped out by laws or congressional investigations. Perhaps it cannot be wiped out even by clever understanding of the problems of the races involved. Such an undertaking, however, certainly ought to lessen the intensity of race feeling and create a stronger feeling in favor of justice and fairness in inter-racial dealings. With fair play and understanding come also tolerance and sympathy.

There is therefore a hopeful outlook in the recently instituted congressional activities to promote "more harmonious relations" between the white and negro races in this country. It is high time that some enlightened action was taken, for race feeling has seemed to be increasing in bitterness in recent years. Race riots and lynchings have been almost as frequent and as terrible in northern communities as they have ever been in the south. There is little liklihood that the so-called negro Moses, Marcus Garvey, will ever achieve his dream of leading the members of the black race home to a nation of their own in Africa. However desirable such a solution may appear to persons looking for an easy way out of the whole problem, it is not regarded as desirable in any way by clear thinkers in either of the races involved.

If the proposed federal commissions called for in various bills introduced in congress are established and carry on sincere and thorough investigations of racial conditions, causes of lynchings and other phases of the situation, their efforts should be productive of some real good. The right of negro children to fresh air and sunshine, to an education which will fit them for self-supporting and self-respecting citizenship, to happiness and clean surroundings, has not always been recognized by white authorities. Clean and wholesome living conditions are too frequently denied the negro inhabitants of the land Granting these things to the negro race will go farther toward making him a useful citizen, attending to his own affairs among his own people, than any amount of legislation forbiddin lynching. Admittedly there must be more respect for law and authority and stricter prevention of mob violence than exist today, but the other things are needed more.

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# THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

Defender 4/30/21

WE HAVE NOT ONLY READ but have carefully studied the President's message to congress. Candor compels the admission that it was a comprehensive and able document. It covered a multitude of subjects, both foreign and domestic. So far as domestic subjects were concerned the message, though lengthy, was remarkable not so much for what was said as for what was left unsaid. It was fine as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. We regret to say it was read with a keen sense of disappointment.

THE PRESIDENT cannot be ignorant of the fact that touching domestic subjects there are many grave wrongs and injustices that ought and must be remedied and which should not be overlooked, ignored or disregarded by the chief magistrate of the country. The President knows, as does every other intelligent person, that in several states, especially in the South, the so-called state governments are not republican in form but are simply local despotic oligarchies, in which the will of the people is not expressed but illegally and violently suppressed.

HE CANNOT BE IGNORANT OF THE FACT that through the methods that are peculiar to those states, there are not less than thirty members of the national house of representatives, and at least six members of the senate who are the official products of the methods referred to. He must also know that his own secretary of state, in the person of Mr. Hughes, was defeated for the presidency in 1916 through the application and enforcement of these same methods.

THESE THINGS lie at the very root of our system of government. It is only through the medium of the ballot box that the electorate can give expression to their wishes and preferences. The sanctity of the ballot, therefore, is the fundamental principle upon which the government is based. Then again the country is cursed with racial proscription and discrimination, official segregation, jim crow car-ism, peonage and lynchings. Only one of these the President saw fit to touch upon, and this was done in language more moderate and conservative than the facts warranted.

THE PROPOSITION to have lynchings investigated, the President believed was not without merit. The proposed investigation may do no harm, and yet no good can come of it because it will only reveal what everybody knows to be a fact already. The only effect will be to postpone and defer for several years, if not indefinitely, that which should be done now. Mr. Harding may as well understand definitely now that in his election the American electorate expect and demand not a negative but a positive administration. He must not make the mistake of assuming that they merely pass judgment upon the question of going in or staying out of Mr. Wilson's league of nations. At least ninety-nine per cent of those voting for Mr. Harding did so not on account of his position on the league but in spite of it.

THEY VOTED for him for two reasons—first, to give expression to their disapproval of Wilson and Wilsonism generally. They objected to Mr. Wilson not on account of what he did, but what he did not do. He was guilty not so much of the sin of commission as the sin of omission. The second reason is because they entertained the hope and belief that in the election of Mr. Harding we would once more have a genuine Republican administration.

IN WHAT WE ARE SAYING we do not speak for any particular race, class or group. We believe we speak and reflect the wishes of all Americans who stand for law and order, a rigid, fair and impartial enforcement of the constitution and laws of the land. These Americans want an administration that will see to it that our government typifies a genuine and not a sham democracy—that every American citizen will be protected in the exercise and enjoyment of his civil political rights upon every foot of soil over which our floats. In other words, the paramount question with ther and is, human rights, manhood suffrage and n supremacy.

WHAT MR. HARDING SHOULD DO is to bring thes ters to the attention of the country in a ringing messag at cannot be misunderstood. If he needs additional legis on to give effect to his determination to enforce the law let that request be made as was done by General Grant wh he requested, and congress gave him necessary authority the power to crush out through the federal machinery that criminal organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.

THUS FAR the President has unfortunately remained silent on these grave and vital subjects, which has led some to be apprehensive that we are destined to have under his administration a repetition of the weak, syncophantic, apologetic and spineless administration to which the country was subjected during the four years the presidential chair was occupied by William Howard Taft—God forbid.

IN SPITE OF THE FACT that he has not thus far openly expressed himself on these subjects, we still believe that there is no disappointment in store for us. It does not necessarily follow that silence means acquiescence in existing conditions Mr. Harding may prefer to have his deeds rather than his words speak for him.

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May 19 1921

## SLAVERY AND RELIGION

The Christian Recorder

The Negroes in Africa were pagans or heathens before being brought to America as slaves. In America they embraced Christianity.

The Negroes are the only large group which embrace Christianity in modern times without reading Christianity's Bible. The chief factor in the conversion of other groups has been the Bible, and education was one of the chief levers. But this was not true with the Negroes, because the slave holders wanted the Negroes to be slaves and Christians at the same time, and they could not keep them such if they taught them Bible Christianity, and particularly if they let the Negroes study the Bible. So the slave holders taught their Negro slaves what they wanted them to know—to make them satisfied with their condition of slavery.

Two factors in our religion persist today from slavery. One is an improper attitude toward education by many Negro Christians. Slavery decried education, and taught the slave to discount it. It pandered to the most ignorant instincts. So even today many colored Christians do not recognize that education is Christianity's chief handmaid. They rather think there is virtue in ignorance. For slavery never taught them that the greatest exponent of Christianity in the New Testament was Paul the most learned man of his day, and the greatest figure in the Old Testament was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians as well as the Jews. They do not know that the Bible presents very few really "ignorant and unlearned" as ambassadors of God.

The other point is about "This world's goods." Because the slaves lot was hard, the slaveholder taught the Negro to postpone all enjoyment to the after life, and gave the Negro fantastic notions of heaven not justified in the Bible. While urging the Negro slave to faithfulness, honesty and uprightness, slavery never told the Negro that Abraham the greatest exemplar of faith was "very rich in cattle and in silver and gold," and his riches did not interfere with serving God; and that Job who was "perfect and upright," also possessed among other things, "7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 yoke of oxen, 500 she asses," etc. Satan took away Job's possessions, but Job stood true. God blessed him. How? The Bible says God gave him 14,000 sheep, 6000 camels, 1000 yoke of oxen and 1000 she asses. Slavery did not tell us that riches are more approved in the scripture than poverty, and those who do most for God are seldom the poor. God has not used the very poor to do His work if we read the Bible right.

Men can be good and yet poor and unlearned; but they can do far more good if they have some of the world's goods at their command and trained in the arts and sciences of their times.

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WASHINGTON D. C. HERALD
JUNE 19, 1921

### The Negro's Place.

IN RE, as the ~~lawyers say~~, the frequent statement that the negro race is doomed forever to be but the hewers of wood and drawers of water, is the remarkable story of the Tanner family. The grandfather of the present generation is Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a man respected for his ability and stability, and of recognized standing in the church and out of it.

One son, Henry O., is recognized in art and has acquired international fame. His work is in

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Atlanta Constitution

5-23-21

## NEGROES AS CLASS ARE LAW-ABIDING, DECLARES PASTOR

That the negroes of the south, as a class, are law-abiding; have no desire to dominate the white race, and that all they want is the opportunity to live peaceably and work under healthful conditions, was the declaration yesterday of Rev. Russell Brown in his sermon to the congregation of the First Congregational church, colored.

"The reckless driving negro," he said, "does not represent the hundreds of chauffeurs, who are driving every day, observing the traffic regulations, and taking some of the finest women and men of the white race where they direct. The negroes of the courts are not by any means the majority. The bootleggers are not representative of the masses. Those who resist arrest or kill an officer are of the gravest minority. Those who steal from the homes where they are employed are very few compared to the hordes who are trusted with everything about the home.

"Even where mass meetings are held, if they were held at two or three places, there would not be a fraction of the colored population of the city there. The masses of negroes do not know anything about inter-racial committee and don't know anything about their purpose. They meet in their churches on Sunday to worship and go back to work Monday morning. If every white man, who has a negro in his employ, would talk with him, he could easily tell what the race needs most. Unfortunately two bad negroes advertise 10,000 to thus hurt when that 10,000 may be peaceful and industrious.

"The masses of negroes are not seeking to dominate the white race. They are simply working. Even when called to go to war, many did not even know where they were being taken. And there was by no means a majority of the race in communities who went. The majority remained at home and worked in factories, mills, stores and private homes.

"The greatest need of the colored race is an opportunity to live peaceably and quietly under healthful conditions in their homes and schools and to have proper counsel as to what is best for them to do. Surely the white people of the south would not leave them without suggestion as to a program of action.

"Even if they are not desired in some states and ought to remove to other places, a few thousand dollars spent to tell them the best place to go and a little assistance in helping them there would result in a great many doing so. On the other hand if the program for them is that they remain, is there not some basis for that, which might be communicated to the masses?

"As far as the colored people themselves are concerned they deplore any crime or condition which serves to alienate the relations of goodwill between the two races in the south. The motto of thousands of them has been to 'requite injury with kindness.'"

Race Problem - 1921.
United States.

# Committee of Seven Lays Case of Black Man Before Arms Conference; Asks Justice and Consideration for Black Races of World.

Dallas Tex. Express

By CHAS. W. ABINGTON,
Washington, D. C.
12/24/21

(Special to the Dallas Express).

Washington, D. C., Dec. 22.—Despite a delay in St. Louis, of more than seven hours we reached Washington early Thursday morning and were present to take part in the opening of the race meeting, holding its sessions at Metropolitan A. M. E. Church. This meeting was called to take under advisement plans by which there could be brought to the attention of the Arms Conference some of the world wide disabilities under which the Negroes suffer. Readers of this article will recall the strenuous efforts put forth by the various organizations among our people in this country to have their representatives attend the World Peace Conference held in Versailles abount two years ago. No one was able to get their but Mr. Trotter, of Boston, who finally succeeded in reaching the Conference by acting a cook on the liner Yarmouth, and traveling without a passport. Noting the wide range of subjects the Arms Conference was being forced to consider in efforts to bring world peace, a group of forward looking men, the most of whom live in and near Washington organized what is known as the "Committee of Seven," to make a call for the meeting now in questtion. These men took the position, that if other race groups in all parts of the world were coming to Washington to put before the powers assembled there, their grievances, the Negro should not lose his chance to make known to the world the many disabilities that mark each step in his effort to enjoy his rights as other men. Already, the Jews had plans laid to have his case stated, and seek relief from the proscription under which he suffers throughout the world. Should the black man sleep on his rights? He was not allowed to get his case before the Peace Conference in France, yet in the Providence of God, a world conference is brought to his door. To these men the time had come to tell the world that the Negro was not getting a square deal.

I desire to make it plain that this meeting did not concern itself with the status of the black man in America and the United States alone, but the plea is made in the interest of members of the race everywhere, but especially in those parts of Africa which are under European control. In South Africa, under British rule, the Negro is compelled to walk out in the street and not on the side walk, the wife is compelled to pay a special tax to live with her own husband. He is totally disfranchised and in land alotments, the Englishman is given 85 per cent and the native 15 per cent and this is in many cases useless. It is the further policy of the Englishman and many other powers in Africa to keep the black people in ignorance which is only another world for slavery. At the opening of this meeting thirteen or fourteen states were represented, reachng from Washington to the extreme middle west. Invitations were sent especially to the National Assocation for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro Equal Rights League, the Negro Race Conference and all organizations, religious, political, civil or social to be present and take an active part. All these bodies were represented in this meeting. Your correspondent wishes just in this connection, to make this observation, the one positive handcap under which our struggling people are groaning is the deep seated jealousy among the leaders. There is a lack of cooperation that is world wide in its scope, and impotency almost every effort advanced for the good of the race.

The Jew is presenting his cause with the backing of an organization that is world wide in ts scope, and he must the reckoned with, that our people must find some common ground of action was clearly brought to the fore during the open discussion which featured the three sessions of the first day. But many men had come there for business and would not be turned from their purpose. It was finally agreed that the following subjects should form the general outline of the document that would be brought to the attention of the Arms Conference: 1. The economic disabilities the Negro suffers wherever the white man rules. In this connection it was brought out, that in Africa, the home of the black man, he is robbed of his land and forced to till it for his white lord. The petition further states that in our own country, the United States, the labor organizations are so formed as to exclude in almost every case the black workman, while in many parts of the country peonage exists. It pleads for a fair chance for the Colored man in the race of life in all economic activities.

2. The educational needs of the race throughout the world. It was brought out that the powers holding possessions in Africa were for the most part seeking to keep the black man in ignorance. In the rich providence of Kimberly the Colored people were required to pay a school tax but this money went to educate the white children. If was brought out that in this country the average school term for the colored child in the rural districts was 60 days. The document declares that ignorance is a menace to the best interest of the Nation and if the expression of the great statesman, Col. Roosevelt, is to be the policy of the world, "All men up no man down."' The educational advantages for the black man must be improved.

3. The civil and political status of the race. In this connection attention is called to the complete disfranchisement of the black man in Africa under European rule, and notwithstanding the "Grand Father Clause" decision handled down by the United States Supreme Court, the Negro is practically disfranchised in all the southern states. The petition pleads for civil and political freedom for the Negro every where.

4. Religious liberty next claimed the attention of the gathering. The black man of America looks with deep concern and alarm at the effort of the European to exclude from Africa teachers and missionaries of his race. It is with the greatest difficulty that a black person can get a passport to go to any part of Africa Recently it has been decided to restrict the stay of workers to six months, which means a complete shutting off the Colored man from work among his people. This can only have one meaning,—the purpose of the white man to keep those people in heathen darkness for the purpose of exploitation. A strong plea is made to the religious conscience of the Powers to remedy this state of affairs.

5. The breaking down of law and order in this country, as it relates to the black man.

The document says that there have been 3225 men women and children of our race lynched in the United States in the last fifty years, a large number of which were burned alive. It further shows that 10 of these victims were American Soldiers. After setting forth these fact a plea is made to the powers of the world now assembled in the interest world peace, to consider the whole document as there could be no lasting peace until the heel of oppression is lifted from the black races.

The night session was graced with the presence of intellectual Washington, which came out to give its assent and encouragement to the work of the Committee of Seven. While your correspondent was tucked away in a side room poring over the rough draft of the main document in an effort to get the principle facts for the Dallas Express, he was suddenly snatched from his seclusion to make snatched from his seclusion to make the opening address of the evening. He was at a loss to know why he should be even thought of in a great gathring like that, but learned later, that his selection was the result of the avtice part he had taken in the debates during the sessions of the day. After he had stroked his hair a few times he went after it. All said a fine impression was made for the Dallas Express and Texas. It marked the beginning of the fire works which burned on util the hands on the big clock slipped a little past eleven. Men of both races took part in the discussion, the concluding remarks being made by Judge Terrell, which were powerful.

Having been informed during the day, that we would start on the long voyage to Africa Saturday, we were compelled to leave Washington at midnight Thursday night. During the afternoon recess your correspondent accompanied Dr. J. F. Ransom, of Kansas, to the Capitol to call on Congressman Bird from his state in the interest of the anti-lynching bill that some friends of humanity are trying to force up on the calandar. This congressman promised his support to the bill and said he was going to do all in his power to put it over and he thought the men from his state was of the same mind. He spoke at length of some constitutional handicaps the bill was destined to encouter, but felt confident that it would be written into law, with some modifications. I trust if they pass it at all, it will not be robbed of its teeth.

CHAS. W. ABINGTON.

## SECOND COLORED DEMOCRACY CONGRESS DOCUMENT—ANTI-LYNCHING PETITION

### Sent to 400 Individual Members of House of Representatives and Given to Cong. Dallinger of Mass. for Presentation in the Debate.

MEMORIAL AND PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF U. S. A. FOR A FEDERAL LAW AGAINST MOB-MURDER AND LYNCHINGS

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church, 14th & Corcoran Sts., Washington, D. C.
Dec. 14, 1921.

To the House of Representatives of
the U. S. Congress and to the
Individual Members thereof:—

The Second Colored World Democracy Congress, now in session under the auspices of the National Equal Rights League, with full confidence in the sincere and enlightened patriotism of your Honorable Congressmen, do herein memorialize you in behalf of our constituency of eleven million American citizens, and do petition for the passage of a federal law against mob violence, murder and lynchings, in the form of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, already approved by a majority of your judiciary committee. We believe that it is now time, with the advance of general intelligence and of religion, with the progress of world civilization, with the noble part taken by all elements of the American people in a bloody world war to save civilization and to establish world democracy, for the awful practice of mob-murder and lynching of human beings and Americans citizens to be ended, or at least, for the federal government to undertake this work for the fair name of our Republic.

For forty years, even unto now, lynchings have gone on at the recorded rate of more than one for every single week, which demonstrates actually, if not theoretically, that the present system of remedy by local or state jurisdiction is impotent to remove this great blot. Let our great Republic, which repeatedly has interfered with the violations of humanity's cause in other countries and which even now assumes the moral leadership of the world, cease to be well-nigh the only country where the lynching of its own citizens is of almost daily occurrence.

#### Now The Time

The passage now of this Dyer Bill will show the world, assembled here at our call for world peace, that we ourselves are sincere and will increase the potency of an influence for the accomplishment of the aim of this historic Conference for World Peace and Armament Limitation.

In the name of the Constitution, of our Country's repute, of her position in world leadership, and in the name of her helpless children, done to death by cowardly mobs, we close this our earnest prayer.

COMMITTEE:—Rev. T. J. Moppins, Mo., Chairman; Dr. Julia P. H Coleman, D. C., Secretary; E. T. Morris, Mass.; Rev. B. S. Salisbury, Miss.; Rev. W. J. Hollimus, S. C.; Rev. I. C. Newby, Conn.; Rev. R. C. Brodie, N. Y.; Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, Mass., Chairman of Congress.

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## SECOND COLORED DEMOCRACY CONGRESS DOCUMENT—ARGUMENT TO AMERICAN DELEGATION OF ARMS PARLEY ON RELEVANCY OF COLOR ISSUE.

### Sent Also to All the Delegates of Arms Parley

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church,
14th and Corcoran Streets, N. W.,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 15, 1921.

To Honorary Henry Cabot Lodge,
Delegate of the United States of America,
World Peace and Armament Limitation Conference,
Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C.
Sir:

In response to your expressed willingness to present to your American Delegation of the present World Peace and Armament Limitation Conference the plea of the 2nd Colored World Democracy Congress now in session at the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church, District of Columbia, under the auspices of the National Equal Rights League as to why we should be heard before this World Peace Parley, we, the Committe of the Congress, submit the following reasons why this request should be grantd, to wit:—

#### Purpose and Precedents

The essential purpose of this Disarmament Conference, whatever may be the specific means mentioned to the end, is to secure World Peace by the ending of human strifes and conflicts. This is evident from the inclusion of the "Far-East Problem" with the concrete measure of Armament reduction.

Furthermore in the treatment already of these problems the precedent has been set of recognizing the principle of justice and freedom as a means to world peace. Again, on this issue, there has been established the practice of laying down general principles of a moral nature for acceptance by the nations as a basis of conduct to the end of world peace.

Our committee therefore pleads: That it is in accord with the spirit of the call of this Arms Parley to permit the presentation of issues of wide scope which affect human strifes and conflicts on a wide scale;

That it is fair and incumbent to consider universal practices menacing world peace which involve the violation of the general principles of justice and freedom;

That substantial progress toward the accomplishment of the basic object of this Arms Parley requires the laying down of general principles on issues which can be shown to be the present source of universal or well-nigh universal unrest, ferment, strife and even conflict at this moment in world affairs.

So it is, that our Committee seeks an audience now with the full American Delegation to give facts and arguments to show that the present treatment of people of color by the white nations or nations, dominantly white, is well-nigh universal, involves the violation of a universal moral principle would be ameliorated by the laying down of a universal principle of justice and freedom, and that this color line not only menaces the peace of the world theoretically, but in present actuality is causing the MOST human ferment, strife, conflict, insurrection and even bloody warfare.

We seek an opportunity to convince you that a World Parley which has entertained as a major issue protection for a Yellow nationality can consistently consent to a presentation of data on the need of universal protection of persons of color, if only for the basis of future parleys.

COMMITTEE:—J. L. Neill, D. C.; E. T. Morris, Mass.; M. A. N. Shaw, Mass.; M. W. Spencer, D. C.; W. O. Harris, Conn.; B. S. Salisbury, Miss.; Wm. Monroe Trotter, Mass.; CHAIRMAN.

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## SECOND COLORED WORLD DEMOCRACY DOCUMENT—PETITION AND GREETINGS TO FRENCH DELEGATION

### Delivered by Full Committee at Headquarters of Delegation in New Willard Hotel. . .

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church,
14th and Corcoran Sts., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.
Dec. 16, 1921.

Honorable Albert Sarraut,
Chairman French Delegation,
Arms Limitation Conference,
New Willard Hotel,
Washington, D. C.
Sir:

The Second National Colored World Democracy Congress, through our Committee on Memorializing the World Arms Parley for world justice to peoples of Color, extends its felicitations and its appreciation to the land of France and its Delegation for fraternity and justice to the Colored races.

Thus esteeming your illustrious example of recognizing Colored humanity on a plane of equality, we solicit your consideration and aid toward securing a hearing on the Memorial of our national assembly to this World Peace Conclave for the recognition of the principle of equality of races as concerns persons of Color and security so necessary to real world peace.

We most respectfully request an audience with the Honorable Delegates of France at their early convenience.

With expressions of high esteem and for the cause of Liberty,
Equality and Fraternity,
WM. MONROE TROTTER,
Chairman.

For the Committee:—R. B. Brodie, N. Y.; E. T. Morris, Mass.; Beverly Saulsbury, Miss., Maurice W. Spencer, D. C.

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## SECOND COLORED WORLD DEMOCRACY DOCUMENT—PETITION TO BRITISH DELEGATION OF WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

### Delivered by Full Committee, at Headquarters in Franklin Sq. Hotel.

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church
14th and Corcoran Sts., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.
Dec. 16, 1921.

Right Honorable A. J. Balfour,
Chairman of British Delegation
of Disarmament Conference,
Franklin Square Hotel,
Washington, D. C.
Sir:

By the vote of the Second Colored World Democracy Congress, we the Committee on Memorializing the Arms Parley of world justice, respectfully request an audience with your Honorable Delegation in behalf of the desire of the Colored American People to seek relief from color proscriptions and relief from persecutions for color by Colored persons everywhere and to give reasons to show the recognition of the need of reform of this world wide wrong as a necessary prerequisite of true world peace.

We pray an audience with your delegation at its very early convenience.

With high consideration, we are,
Yours for world peace,
WM. MONROE TROTTER,
Chairman.

For the Committee:—R. B. Brodie, N. Y.; E. T. Morris, Mass.; Beverly Saulsbury, Miss., Maurice W. Spencer, D. C.

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## SECOND COLORED WORLD DEMOCRACY CONGRESS DOCUMENT— REPLY TO AMERICAN DELEGATION SEEKING DIRECT ANSWER.

John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church.
14th and Corcoran Sts., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.
Dec. 16, 1921.

American Delegation of Conference on the
Limitation of Armament,
New Navy Building,
Washington, D. C.
Honorable Charles E. Hughes, Chairman.
Sir:

The Committee of the Second Colored World Democracy Congress on memorial to the World Peace and Disarmament Conference are in receipt of the letter of the American Delegation written with reference to our letter of yesterday requesting an audience with the American Delegation for consideration of the desire of the Congress to present and be heard upon color-line menace to world peace before this Arms Parley.

Your letter has reference only to the Disarmament Conference itself and not to our being heard by your American Delegation. By vote of the Congress and as citizens of the Republic, we renew our request to be heard by you and to have a fuller understanding on this vital issue in behalf of your Colored American citizenry, briefly and if possible today.

Yours for the right of petition and of world peace.
WM. MONROE TROTTER.

Race Problem – 1921.
United States

Chairman.

**For the Committee:—R. B. Brodie, N. Y.; E. T. Morris, Mass.; Beverly Saulsbury, Miss., Maurice W. Spencer, D. C.**

# COURTESY AND THE COLOR LINE.

BY ORAN WARDER NOLEN.

Practical Druggist 10/21

"I'll get you, young man!" Mr. McElroy exclaimed grimly to himself as he watched one of the clerks waiting on a Negro customer.

Boren, the young clerk, was uniformly courteous to all the customers, but when it fell to his lot to wait upon the Negro his manner changed. Mr. McElroy could see the evident exaggerated carelessness he exhibited toward the colored man, a carelessness that almost bordered on rank hostility.

Instead of answering the Negro's questions regarding some headache tablets in his usual courteous way, he was saying "Yep" and "Nope" in such a flippant manner that the lines tightened around Mr. McElroy's mouth, and an added glint appeared in his eyes as he listened.

The clerk procured the tablets, and after wrapping them up he tossed the package on the counter in front of the Negro, and passed out the change in the same manner.

When the customer left the store Mr. McElroy called out: "Come here, Boren!"

Young Boren came over with a slight questioning look in his eyes.

"Say, young fellow, is that the way you wait on all my customers?"

"Why—why—er—no," the clerk answered.

"Well, what made the difference in your action? Why did you answer 'yep' and 'nope,' and stare toward the front while you spoke? Why did you toss the package and change upon the counter in such an indifferent manner?

"Why, I—er—I may have acted a little bit different from the way I usually do when waiting on customers, but, then he was a nigger, and you can't treat niggers the same as you do white people. If you do it will ruin them. They'll get all stuck-up and try to be one quality with we white people. You don't expect me to fall on his neck and weep down his back, and act as if he were my long lost brother, do you?" the clerk said defensively.

"I'm not talking about social equality just now," the druggist said sharply. "I am talking about equality in courtesy. There is no color line in business courtesy in this store. When people come in here to purchase something they are all on the same plane—they are all white. We have no white, black and brown courtesy—our courtesy is all exactly the same. The drugs and merchandise in the store was manufactured for all people, irrespective of color, and the money that the people buy it with was issued for all the people, regardless of color, and when those people come in here they are each and all entitled to the same service. This store is not a medium to differentiate between white, black and brown people. It is established for dispensing drugs and merchandise to them, and there shall be absolutely no color line in the courtesy they shall receive. They shall be served upon exactly the same basis."

"It is your store, and I guess it is your right to say what we clerks shall do, but niggers don't expect to be treated the same as the white people, and courtesy would be wasted on them, or would ruin them by making them think they are just as good as the white people," young Boren replied a little resentfully.

"You can look at it any way you want to," Mr. McElroy answered. "But if I ever see you acting discourteous toward a colored customer I will discharge you immediately."

As he ceased speaking the druggist looked up and saw the Negro who had been the cause of the discussion step inside the door and look hesitatingly toward him, then turn to go out again.

"Is there anything I can do for you?" Mr. McElroy called out kindly.

"No, sir, boss. I—er—I done thought I forgot something," the man replied as he walked out.

Several moments later the druggist happened to glance across the street and saw the Negro standing there looking over at the store a little uneasily. He did not think anything about the matter, and presently he left the store to attend to some business.

He had gone about half way around the block when he happened to remember that there were some papers he wished to take along, and being somewhat in a hurry he cut through a store to an alley that led directly to the back of the drug store, and he walked in unobserved.

Stepping over to the safe he started to work the combination when he heard someone walk up to one of the show cases, and he caught a Negro voice saying:

"Say, boss, ain't you de young man what sold me dem tablets for headache? Well, you done made a mistake and gib me some tablets dat has poison printed on dem, and dey is made jest de shape of a coffin."

He heard young Boren say something in an incredulous voice, then he caught an exclamation of dismay as the clerk opened the package.

"I done knowed you had made a mistake jest as soon as I opened de package," the Negro was saying. "But when I came back de boss wuz in here, and I—I was jest a little bit feared that if he knowed you made a mistake and gib a customer poison he might fire you, so I jest waited around across de street until he left so dat I could come in and tell you about de mistake widout him knowing anything about it. You is jest a young feller, and probably might neber make another mistake, and I didn't want to take any chances on you getting fired jest because of making a little mistake in selling dem tablets to a nigger."

"I—I certainly appreciate your kindness and thoughtfulness. I—I don't deserve it. You may be black, but—but you are white beneath the skin."

Mr. McElroy did not wait to hear more, but slipped quietly out the back door.

Race Problem-1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

# HARDING'S SPEECH ON RACE QUESTION DRAWS STRONG STATEMENTS

## UNFORTUNATE, DECLARATION OF DEMOCRATS

### Speeches of This Kind Will Not Benefit Negro, But Will Do Him Harm, Is Statement of Senator McKellar of Tennessee

### NEGRO SOCIETY HEAD HAPPY OVER ADDRESS

### Head of "Improvement Association" Wires Congratulations to President; Republican Senators Approve Utterances of Chief

The Montgomery Advertiser

(Associated Press)

**WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—President Harding's address on the race question at Birmingham evoked statements today from democratic senators criticising the executive's remarks and from republican senators commending the president's position.**

10/28/21

**Democrats who criticised the speech, included Senators Harrison, of Mississippi, Watson of Georgia, Heflin of Alabama and McKellar of Tennessee. Republicans who in formal statements declared their approval of it included Senators Calder of New York, Spencer of Missouri and Willis of Ohio.**

The democrats declared that the president's remarks on the race question were inopportune and that his policies would tend toward social equality of the negro with the whites. Senator Watson, of Georgia, said the president's speech was "unfortunate and mischievous."

"We are not going to permit social or political equality of the kind the president advocates," he declared.

Senator Willis said, "the president's ringing statement in defense of political and economic equality of individual opportunity with recognition of absolute divergence in things social and racial is as courageous as it is true."

"There is no use in anybody getting into a quarrel with facts," he added. "The president has stated the facts; political critics may wish the facts were otherwise but that does not change the situation. The country will applaud President Harding's clearness of statement and patriotism of purpose."

Senator McKellar declared the president's speech was "ill-conceived, ill-timed, ill-placed and can serve no useful purpose."

"Its only effect, he said, "will be to arouse racial discussions and racial prejudices that had better been left dormant. Speeches of this kind will not benefit the negro and may do him serious harm.

"It is unfortunate that the president should have seen fit to discuss in the very heart of the black belt the race question on his first trip south after his election to the presidency. There was no demand for a discussion of the racial question at this time."

Senator Calder, republican, New Yoork, declared the president's speech courageous.

"I thoroughly endorse the president's statements," he said. "I endorse his views for political rights for negroes. We have elected negroes to the New York City board of aldermen and to the New York State assembly. If they should have the majority of votes they would be entitled to a seat in the United States senate."

Senator Heflin in his statement said in part:

"Lincoln in his debate with Douglas in 1859 said: 'I am opposed to making voters or jurors of negroes.' There is no escape from the conclusion that absolute political and economic equality between the white man and the negro means the wiping out of all color line in the partnership in business and in the election of negroes to office over white people. Social equality is next door to such a humiliating and disgraceful policy. So far as the South is concerned we hold to the doctrine that God Almighty has fixed the limits and boundary lines between the two races and r [illegible] ublican living can improve upon His handiwork."

Senator Spencer said that "the timely utterance of the President is all the more necessary if there is any disposition to disagree to its manifest truth."

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### THE RACE ISSUE.

Southern people are rapidly drift- away from the issues growing out of the civil war and reconstruction, a fact that is bound to mean better government. Tennessee, a state that seceded from the union by an overwhelming popular majority, cast its electoral vote for Harding. Kentucky came very near doing the same thing and did elect a republican senator. Missouri, a former slave state, and Oklahoma, largely settled by Southerners, went republican from "end to end."

COLUMBIA TENN HERALD
NOVEMBER 1, 1921

But it is safe to say that if Harding had made the speech that he recently made at Birmingham before the election and the people had taken him seriously he would not have carried a single Southern state. This statement is not made out of any prejudice or feeling of partisanship. The Herald has nothing but the friendliest feeling for the president and wishes him mighty well. But his Birmingham speech on the race question was a mistake from every viewpoint. It will rekindle ambitions among the negroes that they cannot realize; it will increase friction between the white and black people and in the end the negroes, for whom Mr. Harding was making his appeal, wil the the chief sufferers.

Whatever one may think about the theory of absolute political equality of the races, every one knows that such a thing is utterly impossible in the South or for that matter in any country where the Anglo-Saxon is dominant. The Anglo-Saxon has never shared dominion anywhere with any other race, and he never will. History attests the truth of this statement. It is not a question of abstract right or a theory but a fact—a condition that we must face.

Absolute political equality of the races means that negroes will share the offices, serve on the juries, assist in registering the will of the voters and in short become equal participants in every phase of government or political life. Whatever the president or others where the negroes are not present in sufficient numbers to force the issue, may think those in the South know that the negro will never be given these privileges here. It is wrong therefore to encourage within him longings that must be denied.

The Herald has been and is the consistent friend of the negro. It believes in giving hi [illegible] nd legal justice. It has never failed to protest against mob violence. The editor of this paper is a member of the Tennessee law and order league, pledged to do whatever he can to prevent race conflict or mob vengeance. He believes that economically the negroes should have fair treatment. He has advocated their education within certain limits. He appreciates the many virtues of the negro race. His earliest memories center around the old "mamies" and "uncles" and "aunts" of the plantation. Never knowingly has he mistreated or taken advantage of a negro. Some of the truest friends that he has are negroes. It is because of this asociation, these memories and his friendship for the negroes, that the editor of The Herald protests against the injustice of the president's speech. A negro is a good deal of a child. About the meanest thing a man can do is to disappoint a child. The president is going to disappoint the negroes.

The ballot should never have been given to the negro. He has almost ceased to use it except when designing white men, for purely selfish purposes corrupt his leaders and bring him to the polls, as is often the case in municipal elections here. He has come to realize that the white man will never permit him to share in government. He has accepted the situation. Now to arouse within him hopes and aspirations that he can never have satisfied, is, The Herald, submits, an act of injustice to the negro. He should be made to understand by his friends that for all time to come his participation in government will be confined to voting for white men for office. He should never be encouraged to use the ballot. The white man who debauches the negro with money and liquor degrades his own race and is the enemy of the negro.

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### HARDING'S SPEECH.

THOMASVILLE GA ENTERPRISE
OCTOBER 26, 1921

President Harding in his Birmingham address took occasion to discuss the race question and as usual with such questions it has stirred up a good deal of dicussion, not all of which has by any means been favorable to his position. The President in arguing that there shall be no thought of social equality merely states an age-old and perpetual principle of racial relationships.

So far he is in accord with all traditions of white men and those traditions would not be altered to any material extent if the President of the United States took occasion to argue against them. It is fundamental and therefore patent from any sane and sensible point of view whether it be North or South.

In the next and most important relationship he takes issue with the position of the South and argues for political equality and for educational equality. The President knows conditions well enough to presume, even if his knowledge was superficial and tainted with some of the old-fashioned congressional prejudice that it is practically impossible at the present time. It may come in the years that are before us but the country is not ripe for it and any discussion that tends to increase the demand for it merely stimulates dissention and arouses a certain degree of revolution among the colored people.

With the President's sanction the negroes of the South may at the present time present their demands for political equality in the South. They may demand that all educational facilities be equal in all sections of the South. That is of course, if his influence and his powers are varied and extensive enough to satisfy the demand. We don't believe that President Harding imagines that it is.

The South may be ready for the discussion of that question from an idealistic standpoint but it is not ready to grant that privilege and would be foolish to attempt it unless they amended the laws of the country to exclude certain classes and certain elements of the race. One element may be in position to assume the ballot honorably and intelligently. The majority are not and won't be for some time.

The discussion is merely political in many of its phases and while we would not credit the President with ulterior motives in this regard it is a pap that is thrown to the elements that the Republicans would control in the North. His Birmingham speech made in the heart of the South will sound mighty good to the Republicans who are desirous of controlling the negro vote in the North, which is rapidly growing. However, that may be, his speech didn't have much effect and will not until other conditions change. The negro is entitled to a fair deal but he must elevate himself to a much higher plane before he will be accorded the ballot in the South. It would be the rankest sort of folly to even discuss it seriously at the present time by reason of the antagonism that it would engender. We may yet hear from the President's speech in a way that will not materially contribute to his efforts to break the Solid South, some portions of which seem to be centered in Georgia.

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## THE PRESIDENT ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

There will be none to doubt that the President meant to be helpful to the South in saying what he did at Birmingham on the subject of the race problem. Sectional prejudice is a vice which none will impute to him. But that what he said will be helpful can not, unhappily, be the judgment of any one who ponders his words.

There are several passages in the President's address to which it will not be easy to fix a precise meaning. But however obscure and elusive these may be, there can be no mistaking the tenor of the President's deliverance. He was inspired, it is manifest, by the belief that the negroes are the victims of injustices and oppressions which it is the right of the Nation to redress if the South shall fail in its duty to do so. From this central idea the South will dissent in the belief that it is unwarranted by the facts; and not only will it dissent from it, but it will protest against the dissemination of it because of its mischievous possibilities.

DALLAS TEX NEWS
OCTOBER 28, 1921

Upon the negro the President puts the injunction of renouncing all thought of social equality with the whites. It is an easy injunction, since the desire for social equality is not an aspiration of the negro race. Upon the whites the President puts the much heavier injunction of according equality to the negroes in politics, industry, education and in all cultural pursuits. To the word equality he gives no metes and bounds of meaning, and probably for the reason that he intends to invoke for the negro the right of undiscriminating fellowship in all the relations of life save the social. Unless he meant the injunction which he put upon the white people of the South to have that unlimited scope, his declaration is without meaning.

That that is an injunction to which the South will not bow even at the behest of the President hardly needs statement. The white people of the South are conscious and confident of an unmeasurable superiority, and so long as they remain so they will not accord equality to the negroes to anything like the extent which the President claims for them. About the only effect that can be produced by the President's assertion of their right to that kind of equality will be the unhappy one of disturbing the peaceful relations which subsist between the two races as a result of the kindly treatment which the white people of the South have given to the negro as an obligation a superior race is under to an inferior one. The negroes of the South have made progress industrially, economically, socially and intellectually—a marvelous progress when contemplated in the light of the fact that they are only little more than a century removed from barbarism and only little more than half a century from slavery. That fact, while it does not acquit the South of having tolerated acts of injustice, proves the benevolence and chivalry of the motive which determines its attitude toward the negro. It is a fact which refutes the complaint that runs through the President's address.

Just what the President means in saying that the time has past when the people of the South are "entitled to assume that the problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem" is not clear. If he means that it is not indigenous to the South, but that it presents itself in every section of the country, he is speaking unmitigated nonsense. The race problem is peculiar to the South because of the simple and determinative fact that it is only in the South that the negroes are in sufficient number to make the question of their racial relation difficult. Distribute the negroes throughout the Nation, and the race problem disappears, for then they would be a negligible number in every State and in every community. This is so obvious that one can hardly attribute that meaning to the President's remark. And yet if that meaning is denied to it, one is thrown upon the conclusion that the President meant to intimate that it is the right of the Federal Government to champion the cause of the negroes in the South.

The President says it is time for the South to stop blinking the facts, and yet it is he who blinks the fundamental fact of the whole matter, which is that the conventions which fix the relation of the negro race to the white race have the high warrant of the white race's immeasurable moral, intellectual and cultural superiority, and will not, therefore, be annulled by statute or presidential admonition.

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SPARTANBURG S C JOURNAL
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## PRESIDENT HARDING'S FINE SPEECH.

President Harding received a royal welcome in Birmingham, Alabama, yesterday. He was travelling in mighty good company—everybody in Alabama knows and a safe majority of the best peo in that State swear by S Oscar Underwood. Some pe in other parts of the country, back yonder in 1912, thought was Presidential timber in But the President was "h yesterday and he seemed to enjoy the sensation of being among a generous folk who were not asking for anything or expecting anything.

The occasion of the President's going to Alabama was the semi-centennial of the founding of the City of Birmingham. His greeting was as enthusiastic and sincere as his heart could have wished, and the speech he made was in every sense a most creditable expression of his views on one of the most important questions with which not only the people of the United States but the people of what we are accustomed to regard as the civilized nations of the earth as well must deal—the race question. It might have been regarded a few years ago bad form for the President of the United States of the Republican Party, which had freed the negro with the intention and expectation of securing to itself through his ballots permanent political control of the South, we say it was unusual for the highest representative of that Party to make the Negro question the burden of his speech; and it must be said to his honor that he discussed it in the temper of the philosopher and not in the spirit of the sectional politician.

So far as we can judge, the President has not changed his view on the negro question since his campaign for the Republican nomination for the office, except, possibly, by broadening his conception of the issue as a National rather than a sectional matter. There is something in that; but the fact is that the issue so far is acute only in the South, and for the present at least it is in a very special sense a Southern issue.

The position taken by President Harding might be described as an amplification of the position taken by Abraham Lincoln, who declared that it was utterly impossible for two diverse races to live on the same soil on equal social and political terms. The same sentiment was expressed by Mr. Harding who said among other notable things:

> "Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality."
>
> "I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both races."
>
> "Take the political aspect. I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote."
>
> "In this matter of our National problem of races, I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

If Mr. Lincoln had not been assassinated, we would not have had the negro race question forced upon us by Mr. Lincoln's Party. He knew that two diverse races could not live together on the same soil on equal terms, and that is what Mr. Harding meant as we interpret his race speech at Birmingham in which he made it very clear that no form of education or legislation can alter the "fundamental, eternal inescapable fact" that the negro is a negro and the white man is a white man, and that both must be developed according to their gifts.

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BALTIMORE MD. MORN. SUN
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## A BRAVE UTTERANCE.

President Harding's talk on the negro question to the people of Birmingham yesterday was a courageous, honest and straightforward pronouncement. It will give the country added respect for its President. The negro problem is one so bristling with difficulties that few of our statesmen have cared to face it frankly. It is not a simple one, and no one but an ignoramus would assert that it can assuredly be solved through any theoretical formula. Almost irresistible forces have compelled the South to handle it as it has been handled there. But it is not solved and it is presenting new and alarming phases. The people of the country, of the South particularly, must give thought to them. President Harding has not spoken the last word on the subject, but the candor and courage he showed yesterday are thoroughly commendable. The South must meet his challenge in like spirit. Any improvement possible in the relations between the white and black races must come through the application to the problem of these two qualities.

Race Problem—1921

President Harding's Speech

(Discussions)

United States

# WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT HARDING

## The President's Birmingham Speech Is Favored By Some And Criticised By Others

## WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID

Afro-American

1. Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality.

11/4/21

2. Let the black man vote when he is fit to vote. Prohibit the white man from voting when he is unfit to vote.

3. Natural segregation.

4. I will insist upon equal educational opportunities for both races.

5. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Race partnership there must be.

6. I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party.

7. If the South wishes to keep its fields producing, it will have to compete for the services of the colored man.

8. I would like to see an education to fit every man to do his particular work and rise to a higher plane if he would deserve it.

10. I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining the black man as a mere political adjunct.

Baltimore

The address of President Harding at Birmingham, Ala., the other day, in which he declared in favor of economic and political equality of the race, as long as it was along lines, not antagonistic to the whites, and against "social equality" and intermarriage, has been the topic of widespread comment.

Rev. W. Hilary Coston, Yale graduate and chaplain in the Spanish-American war: "I agree heartily with everything the President said, and believe all colored men should do so."

Clarke L. Smith, attorney: "The President is basically wrong in that he loses sight of the fact that with political equality comes that 'social equality' of which he declares against."

J. Steward Davis: "I am with the President as far as he declares for political equality and for a division of votes, the idea being abhorrent to me that I should be labeled a Republican because I am colored."

William C. McCard: "Put me down as saying that the colored man aspires to every other right aspired to by any other class of Americans."

William H. J. Wheeler: "It seems to me that the address is one which colored people can unite in commending."

Robert Overton, waiter: "I have not had time to read the President's address as yet."

### Argues For Equality

Rev. C. H. Stepteau: "The President made a great speech. We want praise where merit counts and we want place where our fitness warrants. Race should be no barrier to fitness for position, nor should 'white' be an evidence of capable efficiency. The term 'social equality' is a handy one used by Southern white politicians and unscrupulous whites everywhere to entail upon colored citizens the misrepresentation of the Negro's true aspirations. The term has unfortunately driven its way in to the thought of every white man, North or South, who wishes to excite the prejudices of one section of the country against us. Equality before the law, equality of opportunity for a livelihood, equality in political, economic and educational spheres are our contention."

Rev. J. W. McCoy, pastor of Pennsylvania Avenue A. M. E. Zion Church—"I regard the address as one which is to be commended."

**Marcus Garvey, (By telegram to President Harding) :—**"As a rule the North has discussed the Negro problem and the South has dealt with it, nor have theory and practice often conflicted, since they so seldom met. Mr. Harding has carried all his convictions with him into the South. He had nothing very new to offer on the subject; his main contribution lies in the fact that he did not dodge it."

**Senator Harrison, of Mississippi:—**"No two races can possess "complete uniformity" of ideals without merging completely; equality in the opportunities for knowledge, culture, achievement and admiration are sadly dependent on social equality; races do not live side by side without invidious comparisons."

**Senator Watson, of Georgia:—**"I very much regret that he made it. It is an unfortunate thing when the President of the United States accepts an invitation to speak in such southern states as Georgia and Alabama and then finds it necessary to lecture them about the treatment of the Negro."

**Washington Daily Colored American:—**"Mr. Harding has outlined for us, as the Nation's head, as our President as well as that of the white people with whom he happens to be identified by blood and tradition, the goal for which we must work, plan and sacrifice."

**New York World, white,:—**"President Harding deserves credit for taking his courage in both hands in going to Birmingham to discuss the Negro question. The Negroes of the world, at this time when the world is gone wild in its injustice to weaker peoples, greet you as a wise and great statesman and feel that with principles such as you stand for, humanity will lose its prejudice and the brotherhood of man will be established. All true Negroes are against social equality, believing that all races should develop on their own social lines. Only a few selfish members of the Negro race believe in the social amalgamation of Black and White. The new Negro will join hands with those who are desirous of keeping the two opposite races socially pure and work together for the industrial, educational, and political liberation of all people. The Negro peoples of the world expect the South of the United States of America to give the Negro a fair chance and your message of today shall be conveyed to the four hundred millions of our Race around the world. Long live America, Long live President Harding in his manly advocacy of human justice."

**Richmond Plane:—**"The distinguished occupant of the White House remarks that "racial amalgamation there cannot be." This was rather an amusing statement, when many of the people in Alabama, whom he took to be white people were in reality colored. There is every reason to believe that more amalgamation between the races is going on in the Southland behind closed doors than in the Northland with its matrimonial publicity."

**William Lewis, of Hatchett and Lewis, Bankers:—**"I admire the President's courage in making an address of that character in the South."

**Frederick McCracken, Insurance Manager for Taylor and Jenkins:—**"As usual in trying to pacify the bourbon South we have a man injecting a little 'social equality' denunciation to make his remarks more palatable to them."

**C. Henry Jenkins, Banker:—**"The President chose the right section of the country in which to make known his views on the race question. We can all subscribe to the demands for political and economic equality."

**Isaiah Smith, General Manager for the Standard Benefit Society:-** "The address was somewhat apologetic in tone, catering to the whims of white Southerners."

**Rev. John W. Norris, Pastor of Waters A. M. E. Church:—**"I regard it as the strongest ever made by any President since Grant's time. We all want economic and political equality, but so-called social equality does not enter our minds. In fact, I do not know what 'social equality' is."

**City Councilman William L. Fitzgerald:—**"Well, I heard some of the best known colored men in the country criticise the speech while in Washington the other day."

**Dr. T. S. Hawkins:—**"I think the address was an admirable one under the circumstances. The President had to concede something to Southern prejudices while making his plea for political and economic opportunity for us."

**Bishop Roy B. Mohr, Colored Methodist Protestant Church:—**"I consider the utterance as a fine plea for us in many respects, but I do not like the part where he vied with the white South in sharing their prejudices."

**Baltimore Sun, white.:—**"President Harding's talk on the Negro question to the people of Birmingham yesterday was courageous, honest and straightforward pronouncement. It will give the country added respect for its President."

**Senator McKellar, Tenn.:—**"President Harding cannot make the Negro equal to the white man either economically or politically. If he has mapped out this task for himself he will be disappointed, however much he may desire to do so. No man can do the impossible. God Almighty has heretofore organized and directe this work, an I doubt if He will allow any man to interfere and take charge of it at this late day.

The speech in my judgment was ill-conceived, ill-timed, ill-placed, and can serve no useful purposes."

**Philadelphia Tribune:—** "The speech of the President means that there is always to be a limitation in the black man's aspiration in life without being the best possible black man. He must never seek to be the best possible man, irrespective of color. Then, finally, as the spokesman of the Republican party of the Nation, the President serves notice that that party no longer wishes to be burdened with the responsibility of the solid black vote of the country."

**Indianapolis Recorder:—**"The President's plea is worth one hundred jobs."

**Birmingham Alabama News, white:—**"The South will have no quarrel with President Harding upon his address. If the speech was greeted in a measure of silence it was because such statements from a President were astounding, and the people were thinking and reflecting. It was not a matter for cheering, but for study."

**Birmingham Age-Herald, white,** —"Southern leaders, white and black, have already accepted the doctrine laid down by President Harding."

**Birmingham Post, white,:—**"In common with many others who have told the South how to meet the Negro question, President Harding is thoroughly versed in theory, but of the actualities of racial relations he is apparently not fully informed."

**W. E. B. DuBois:—**"The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the fuonding stone of world peace and human advancement."

Manifest of Second Pan-African Congress.

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# HARDING AWAITS SOUTH'S VIEWS

N Y C SUN
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## Expects Valuable Data From Comment on Negro Plan.

## WILLIAMS PARTLY APPROVES

## 'Unfortunate in the Extreme,' Opinion of Harrison.

*Special Despatch to* THE SUN.

**The Sun Bureau,**
**Washington, D. C., Oct. 27.**

Echoes of President Harding's plea for political, legal and economic, but not social, equality for the negro are being awaited with interest here by Southern politicians, who are anxious to know how the South will take the President's declarations.

As a rule, the principles enunciated by the President have not set well heretofore with Southern members of Congress, and they are wondering whether times have changed in the Southland to such an extent that the programme announced by Mr. Harding could receive the general approval of the white voters of the South.

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, who has always been outspoken and frank to an emphatic degree on the negro question, declared to-day that he approved some but not all of the things the President said in his speech last night.

### Approves Division of Vote.

"I indorse the President's statement that there should be absolute separation of the races. That must be, and I am glad the President spoke so definitely and plainly," said Senator Williams. "I am in favor and always have been of giving the negro absolute equality before the law for the protection of his property, his life, his limb. He should have every right that the law gives and there should be no curtailment of that. Beyond that I am not willing to give him any rights. I am not willing that he should have political rights, social rights or any other rights except those he is entitled to before the law."

Senator Williams also heartily indorsed the President's statement that the negro vote should be divided between the parties. "So long as the negro voter makes himself the slave of the Republican party," he said, "the white men of the South must vote solidly. The racial fight cannot be escaped. It would be a good thing if the white man could divide his vote in the South, but it can't be done now."

### "Unfortunate," Says Harrison.

Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi issued a statement characterizing the President's utterances as "unfortunate in the extreme."

"The President's speech was unfortunate," said he, "but to have made it in the heart of the South, in some States of which the negro population predominates, was unfortunate in the extreme.

Of course, every rational being desires to see the negro protected in his life liberty and property. I believe in giving him every right under the law to which he is entitled, but to encourage the negro who, in some States, as in my own exceeds the white population, to strive through every political avenue to be placed upon equality with the whites is a blow to the white civilization of this country that will take years to combat.

"If the President's theory is carried to its ultimate conclusion, namely, that the black person, either man or woman, should have full economic and political rights with the white man and white woman, then that means that the black man can strive to become President of the United States, hold Cabinet positions and occupy the highest places of public trust in the nation. It means that white women should work under black men in public places as well as in all trades and professions.

"I am against any such theory because I know that it is impracticable, that it is unjust and that it is destructive of the best ideals of America."

### See Attempt to Win South.

The belief is here that the President's Southern tour is his attempt to forward his theory that the "Solid South" is Democratic only because of the race and not because of political issues and that if the race issue can be taken out of politics most of the Southern white men would be found to be Republicans. The President has always believed that the development of manufacturing and industrial interests in the South has made a protective tariff country of that territory and that, politically speaking, most of the Southern States have no place in the Democratic ranks.

This is also a pet theory of Postmaster-General Hays, who has been doing and caused to be done much evangelical work in the South for the Republican party. The whole policy of this Administration in regard to the South has tended toward removing the race issue and substituting political issues in the South with the thought that the "Solid South" can be broken if the thing is approached in the proper way.

There is no doubt here that comments of Southern newspapers and prominent persons on the President's speech will constitute the most interesting data on the race question that has been gathered for some time.

### Two Newspapers Voice Approval.

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 27.—With President Harding not yet out of the South a reaction was apparent to-day on his speech at Birmingham, in which he asked for polotical and economic equality for the negro in the South.

Only two Southern papers, commenting editorially on the address, so far as is known here, did so favorably.

hTe Birmingham *Age-Herald* said: "President Hardington offered a practical, common sense solution of the race problem. * * * His views coincide with the best thought in this part of the country and will be cordially approved."

The Birmingham *News* said· "It has taken some sixty years for a President of the United States, a Republican President, to pick the broken threads of understanding as they fell from the cold hand of the martyred Lincoln. If the speech was greeted in a measure of silence, it was because the speech was not a matter for cheering, but study. It was a wonderfully courageous speech."

# Opinions Differ Sharply On President's Address

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### Some of Senators, at First Extreme in Criticism of Birmingham Talk, Modify Views.

The Atlanta Ga. Constitution

BY JAMES A. HOLLOMON,

Constitution Bureau, Raleigh Hotel.

10/23/21

Washington, October 27.—(By Constitution Leased Wire.)—There is a sharp division of opinion among southern members of congress, most of who mare democrats, as to President Harding's Birmingham speech on the negro in politics. Many of them who were at first extreme in their criticism, have, to some extent, modified their views after reading the full text, and believe that while the president has spoken plainly and with courage, his purpose has been to point out the folly of negro social aspirations through party success.

One thing stands out with peculair boldness and that is that the president had in mind the complete reorganization of republican politics in the south along the lines of the experiment that he personally put into effect in Georgia.

For some time it has been well understood in inner republican circles that President Harding was entirely sympathetic with an effort to reorganize the party in the south so as to eliminate the objection of so many white people that it encouraged the negro to have hopes of social equality and to believe that he was a strong group factor in American politics. Initial steps toward curtailing the tendency among republican politicians, white and black, in certain southern states, to use their political organizations merely for the purpose of obtaining political offices in the federal administration were taken several years ago in cutting down representation from the south in republican national conventions, and there was a still further curtailment just four months ago based on the number of votes cast for the republican ticket in each congressional district.

### Swept Out of Existence.

By that later action Georgia, for instance, will have representation in the national republican convention from only four of the twelve districts. Following this the negro-controlled organization in Georgia was swept out of existence in a day by the national committee, working under directions from the president, and a new white organization, composed of non-office seeking republicans, put in charge. The chairman of that new state organization, J. L. Phillips, has been made supreme referee as to state patronage. The patronage is being delivered to white applicants only and to those not affiliated with the old bunch of office-seekers. White supremacy in party domination was the incentive for the Georgia transformation.

Colonel Henry W. Anderson, republican candidate for governor of Virginia, is conducting his campaign along the lines laid down by President Harding. He has said to the negroes of Virginia that as the white people own 95 per cent of the property of the state and comprise more than half of the population, and have had experience in self-government for many centuries, it should be understood that they must continue to rule. He has promised the negroes that if he is elected he will insure to them equality of treatment and will do everything possible to provide for their education and to make them good citizens, but he said flatly that they must not expect that they can undertake the political administration of Virginia.

If the Georgia experiment is successful, even to the extent of increasing the republican vote in the state without obtaining any striking victories in elections, it will be extended to other southern states. While in one sense a lily-white movement, it is different from lily-white republican organizations in other southern states in that it seeks to bring into the patry men who are republicans by conviction and who are not seeking to obtain party prominence in order to obtain federal offices for themselves or their friends. The Birmingham speech by the president gives his official indorsement to the experiment and shows that the republiacn party has undertaken a new method of procedure in the south.

### Speech of Taft.

When William H. Taft was secretary of war, he delivered a speech before a republican convention in North Carolina in which he criticised the republican party in the south as an organization maintained largely for the purpose of obtaining public offices. When he was president, Mr. Taft laid down the rule that in communities where negroes were obnoxious as office-holders to a large part of the people, he would not appoint them to federal offices which brought them into close official association with people generally.

On the whole the speech is appraised as a fearless advocacy of the civic rights of the black race, but unalterably in opposition to any social equality or to any black domination in party rule.

Detailed statements by Senators on President Harding's Birmingham address are carried in Associated Press dispatches, which are as follows:

### Executive Criticized.

Washington, October 27.—President Harding's address on the race question at Birmingham evoked statements today from democratic senators criticizing the executive's remarks, and from republican senators commending the president's position.

Democrats who criticized the speech included Senators Harrison, of Mississippi; Watson, of Georgia; Heflin, of Alabama, and McKellar, of Tennessee. Republicans who, in formal statements, declared their approval of it, included Senators Calder, of Colorado; Spencer, of Missouri, and Willis, of Ohio.

The democrats declared that the president's remarks on the race question were inopportune, and that his policies would tend toward social equality of the negro with the whites. Senator Watson, of Georgia, said the president's speech was "unfortunate and mischievous."

"We are not going to permit social or political equality of the kind the president advocates," he declared.

Senator Willis said: "The president's ringing statement in defense of political and economic equality of individual opportunity with recognition of absolute divergence in things social and racial, is as courageous as it is true."

### Stated Facts, Says Willis.

"There is no use in anybody getting into a quarrel with facts," he added. "The president has stated the facts; political critics may wish the facts were otherwise, but that does not change the situation. The country will applaud President Harding's clearness of statement and patriotism of purpose."

"The president's speech was unfortunate," said Senator Harrison, "but to have made it in the heart of the south, where, in some states, the negro population predominates was unfortunate in the extreme.

### Outcome of Theory.

"Place the negro upon political and economic equality with the white man or woman and the friction between the races will be aggravated.

"The president is right in that the race question is a national one and not confined to any one section and his unfortunate and mischievous utterance on the subject will be deprecated by people in every section of the country who believe in the preservation of white civilization."

### Watson Also Criticizes.

Senator Watson, democrat, Georgia, also criticized the president's speech. Mr. Watson said he regretted its delivery by the executive.

"It is an unfortunate thing when the president of the United States accepts an invitation to speak in such southern states as Georgia and Alabama and finds it necessary to lecture their people about the treatment of the negro," said Senator Watson. "As the president is a native of Ohio, he cannot possibly understand our situation in the south, where the population is almost equally white and black."

"There is no such thing as economic discrimination against the blacks in the south. They get equal treatment from our merchants and from our bankers. They themselves have made no complaint of racial discrimination in economic matters.

"Would President Harding be glad if his successor in the white house were to be a black man? Would the president like to see his cabinet filled with negroes?

"We white people of the south consider ourselves the legatees, the guardians and the defenders of a civilization slowly built up at tremendous sacrifices during thousands of years of heroic effort. We mean to be true to our trust. We are not going to permit any social or political equality of the kind the president advocates because we know that it would mean the destruction of the civilization which our ancestors handed down to us."

ace Problem-1921
United States

President Harding's Speech

Discussions

**EXPRESS APPRECIATION.**

**NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—Marcus Garvey, president general of the Universal [illegible] Improvement Association sent the following telegram to President [illegible] congratulating him on his speech on the negro question delivered yesterday at Birmingham, Alabama.**

"Please accept heartfelt thanks of 400,000,000 negroes of the world for the splendid interpretation you have given of the race problem in your speech at Birmingham. The negroes of the world at this time when the world is gone wild in its injustice to weaker people greet you as a wise and great statesman and feel that with principals such as you stand for humanity will lose its prejudice and the brotherhood of man will be established.

"All true negroes are against social equality, believing that all races should develop on their own social lines. Only a few selfish members of the negro race believe in the social amalgamation of black and white.

"The new negro will join hands with those who are desirous of keeping the two opposite races socially pure and will work for the industrial, educational and political liberation of all peoples. The negro peoples expect the South of the United States of America to give the negro a fair chance and your message of today shall be conveyed to the 400,000,000 of our race around the world.

"Long live America. Long live President Harding in his manly advocacy of human justice."

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# KELLY MILLER IN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT DEFENDS RACE

Washington Tribune
12/17/21

## Denies That Race Difference is Fundamental, Eternal and Inescapable

In an open letter to President Warren G. Harding challenging the president's theories and ideas expressed in his Birmingham speech, Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University sets forth in a plain, dignified, yet forceful manner, the falacies, hypocricy and false premises of the President's speech.

Among the many pointed and convincing arguments advanced by Prof. Miller, he says:

"The motive which prompted this bold and courageous utterance on your part has given rise to much speculation. Some have been disposed to consider its timeliness with reference to the Disarmament Conference as a great issue of race which lies in the background of the international gathering now sitting in the city of Washington.

"The race problem in America casts a shadow of suspicion upon the claims of democracy as the ideal form of government.

"Candor compels me to say, Mr. President, speaking deliberately on behalf of the thoughtful element of the Negro race, that your platform based upon the assertion of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences' of race is calculated, in the long run, to do the Negro as great harm as the Taney dictum [The Negro has no rights which the white man was bound to respect] would have done, had not the aroused conscience of the nation negatived the interpretation which the author placed upon it.

* * *

"From the Negro's point of view you have attempted to build a superstructure of righteousness upon a fallacious foundation. . . . . If you write at top of the page the declared and accepted doctrine of 'fundamental, inescapable, and eternal differences of race,' it then makes no difference what you may write underneath, the Negro would be degraded into an inferior caste which would render any form of equality impossible. The Negro's claim to political and civil equality does not rest upon any condition or concession, but grows out of his inalienable right as a human being and his guaranteed rights as an American citizen. . . . . The Negro, if he would, cannot barter away his rights, or hypothecate them upon the acceptance or rejection of any alleged theory of difference of race.

* * *

"The general drift of opinion, however, on part of the Negro press that has taken pains to give careful thought and analysis to the question, is that any form of equality will be impossible if your hypothesis becomes generally accepted. The Negro would thus sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, with no assurance that he will receive the pottage.

* * *

"President Roosevelt, in his celebrated letter to a Southern publicist, declared that he would not shut the door of hope in the Negro's face. Your policy, Mr. President, contrary to your purpose would latch, lock and bolt it to all eternity.

* * *

"I think that no biologist or psychologist who has regard for his reputation would care to venture the opinion that race differences are inescapable and eternal.

In answer to the President's statement "race amalgamation there cannot be," Prof. Miller says:

"Writing in the June number of the 'Yale Review,' Professor Boas closes an illuminating article on 'The Problem of the American Negro' with these words: "Thus, it would seem, that man being what he is, the Negro problem will not disappear in America until the Negro blood has been so diluted that it can no longer be recognized, just as anti-Semitism, until the last vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared."

"Without intending to do so, you have adopted the dogma of every proslavery advocate and of every present day reactionary on the question of human rights. On this point you are in perfect accord with the late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, and Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., author of 'The Clansman. This unintentional agreement, I am sure, will prove an uncomfortable one. The question of essential difference of race is one on which there are not sufficient scientific data to base any conclusion of value. The few psychologic tests already made are inconclusive.

* * *

"It is indeed disappointing to find a President of the United States at the end of the World War for democracy reverting to the undemocratic doctrine which has always been relied on to justify man's inhumanity to man.

"The Negro finds himself in a segregated social world. He is making the best he can of this situation. He is not clamoring for so-called social equality, and would be wholly unable to assert his claim even if he were clamorous. But surely it cannot be expected that the race will meet in solemn conclave and affirm its belief in and acceptance of 'fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences.' This would justify the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan whose avowed purpose is to help the Almighty carry out his plan of everlasting white supremacy.

* * *

"Your doctrine of eternal difference is contrary to the scientfic, ethical and social tendencies of the age. The human race is moving toward unity, not diversity. The ancient barriers of caste, religion and race are being thrown down by the onward sweep of cosmic forces. . . . . No longer can any race or nation expect to hold its peculiar culture in airtight compartments.

* * *

"Your audience must have received your remarks about the impossibility of amalgamation with a measure of amusement mixed with amazement. A glance over the colored section of your audience would have convinced you that amalgamation is not a theory, but a fact. No discerning eye was keen enough to tell where the white strain left off and the Negro began. In face of these stubborn facts, your statement is hard to understand. According to the 13th Census, there were over 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This albescent contingency of the Negro race was not produced by the semi-tropical climate of the Southland, as Southern white men know full well. No wonder your audience received this deliverance in silence. It is idle for white men to prate about race purity while they practice race promiscuity. There is need of plain speaking on this point. . . . The white man has never failed to mingle his blood with the darker races whereever he has met them in all the ends of the earth. According to President Roosevelt, Bravilian statesmen are convinced that their method of benevolent amalgamation is a more effective solvent of the race problem than the Anglo-Saxon policy of social segregation. In South Africa a million and a half Europeans have alrealy produced one-half their number of mulattoes.

* * *

"You urge the Negro not to imitate the white man, but to set up his own racial ideals. . . . . The Negro uses the same language, reads the same books, admires the same art, understands the same science, accepts the same standard of ethics and practices the same religion. . . . . Whatever racial aims or ideals he might have developed if left in his native country have been destroyed by transplantation and by imitation of his captors Fred Douglass used to say there is none of the banana in me. . . . The Anglo-Saxon professes to imiate Jesus, Saviour of the World, although he may affect to despise the idiosyncrasies and race peculiarities of the Jew. It is not the race, but the ideal manifested by the individual.

* * *

"It would be pleasing to suppose that the Negro could get economic equality on the basis that you have

(over)

laid down but the hope is vain. Every caste system in the world is based on vocation. Social stratification rests upon employment. The Negro in Washington is not permitted to operate a street car as a motorman, not because of his lack of ability to do so, but by reason of his race alone. Any man who can run an automobile in the upon streets where there are no tracks can surely guide a street car which moves along fixed grooves. This single citation is sufficient to show that you cannot have democracy in industry as long as you recognize inescapable difference of race."

Race Problem-1921-U.S. President Harding's Speech. (Discussions)(1

# OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT

## Is Race Difference Fundamental, Eternal and Inescapable?

Cleveland Call

By KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington,
D. C. Ohio

Honorable Warren G. Harding,
The White House,
12/17/21 Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President:

Your Birmingham address marks an epoch in the history of race adjustment in the United States, if not throughout the entire world. You have doubtless received thousands of responses from all parts of the country expressive of every shade of thought, feeling and opinion. There is a sort of dilatory prudence in withholding the expression of one's opinion until others have spoken. But one thus runs the risk of being charged with hesitancy of opinion and deference of judgment. I trust, however, that this communication will not be regarded as being hopelessly belated or presented out of due season. The significance of your proposition is comprehensive and permanent. It possesses little or no news value or journalistic timeliness. The principle which you lay down and the policy which you approve are calculated to have enduring consequences upon the tangled issue of race relationships. Indeed, the hasty reaction will probably have no important results. The race problem remains in all important respects the same immediately after your delivery as immediately before it. Fundamental principles cannot be judged by instantaneous results. One generation sows the seed, the next enjoys the fruition thereof.

The immediate effect of your declaration has been to bring the eternal Negro question once more to the forefront of current discussion. There seems to be a conspiracy on part of the organs of public opinion to ignore troublesome or distressing issues. Men are prone by nature to seek easement of conscience by affecting obliviousness of obvious evils which menace private repose and public tranquility. In this way is cherished the vain delusion that we may gain surcease from menacing conditions which we lack the moral courage to face. But the ghost of evil conditions will not down at our bidding. The bronchial tickling and the occasional cough remind the over-sanguine consumptive of the fatuity of his optimism. From the foundation of the government until now there has been no interval of long duration when the unwelcome issue of race has not forced itself on public thought and action. Just at a time when the South was flattering itself that its provincial regime of political and civic inequity had received the approval, or at least the connivance of the nation, and when the North, being so absorbed in economic exploitation, that its ear had grown dull the complaints of the Negro, you come forward with the courage—may I say without offense, with the temerity—to lend the weight of your high authority to renewed discussion of an issue which the people, if they could, would gladly relegate to the realm of oblivion.

The motive which prompted this bold and courageous utterance on your part has given rise to much speculation. Some have been disposed to consider its timeliness with reference to the Disarmament Conference as a preliminary pronouncement on the great issue of race which lies in the background of the international gathering now sitting in the city of Washington. This conference is a result of your statesmanship, and the world is looking with anxious expectancy to its effect upon the world-wide adjustment of nations and races. The race problem in America casts a shadow of suspicion upon the claims of democracy as the ideal form of government. A clear clarion pronouncement on this subject, coming from the highest authority in the nation, might well serve to allay this feeling of doubt as to the sincerity and genuineness of America's pretentions which the other nations have a right to entertain. Your declaration has been construed in some quarters as the answer which Great Britain and the United States, the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, have agreed to render in respect to Japan's demand for racial equality. It has been suggested that you may have been voicing the sentiment of the more intolerant Teutonic element of the white race in its endeavor to persuade the more liberal Latin element that the whiter races must adopt this policy in dealing with the darker ones.

On the other hand there are those who are inclined to believe that your chief intention was to extend the influence of the Republican party in the Southern States which has, hitherto, been reduced to a nullity by reason of the race problem. In the last election the Republican party carried the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma. You would probably have received the electoral vote of every State in the Union if the race issue had not interfered. All genuine effort to remove this question from politics must meet with the approval of all right thinking American citizens. However, the recent overwhelming defeat of the Republican party in Virginia, which, it seems, anticipated much of your platform, is not reassuring.

The sudden abortive ending of the Ku Klux Klan investigation by the legislative and executive branches of the government lends color to the suspicion of some that your forthcoming deliverance could be relied on to squelch this nefarious organization, whose midnight wizardry seeks darkness rather than light because its deeds are evil.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was your purpose to lay down a comprehensive platform on which both races can stand and work out, with mutual confidence and cooperation, their common destiny. I am disposed to accept this interpretation of your motive.

There is all but universal commendation of your moral courage in injecting an unwelcome issue at so critical a juncture of the world's affairs. It is only the intolerable type of Southern opinion that questions either the wisdom or propriety of your doing so. As a Republican elected mainly by Northern and Negro votes, you have gone into the heart of wat Mr. Bryan would call the enemy's country to reaffirm a doctrine which for two generations the white people of that section have united in oath-bound allegiance to combat. Every President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, with a single exception, has indulged in public declaration on the race question. Mr. Wilson who relied on the soothing balm of pleasing phraseology to hold a restless world in poise is the only President who did not deign a single word on this subject during his tenure of office. He probably felt that any utterance which he could afford to give would be violative of his declared principles of universal liberty and equality, and, therefore, preferred to remain silent rather than convict himself of illogicality and ethical inconsistency. The race issue was always shunted by his single-track mind. It will not be regarded as ungracious to say that he retires to private life with the unanimous approval of the Negro race. The esteem of the despised and neglected may seem to be of little import to one who treads the highway of world renown, but it is doubtful whether any American statesman, whatever his achievements, can receive the highest meed of permanent esteem if the least of his fellow citizens justly have aught against him.

No President has spoken more clearly or with more genuine sincerity or with more evident indication of good will and generous spirit than that which characterizes your Birmingham address. But Mr. President, any doctrine originated or adopted by one in high authority will not be judged in the future by the intention of its author, but by the meaning and significance inherent in the doctrine itself. A slaveholder penned the declaration of Independence, but the motto: "All men are created free and equal" has gained an interpretation and significance that far surpass the restricted intention of its author and his aristocratic compeers who adopted it as a revolutionary watchword. Chief Justice Taney was considered a courteous, kindly and well-meaning jurist. His famous obiter dictum, that "the Negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," expressed, as he judged, with accuracy and appositeness the state of mind at the period which he undertook to describe; but the phrase itself rendered nugatory his meaning and purpose, and damns the author to "everlasting fame."

A phrase may be more potent than af act. Opinion, crystallized in terse phraseology rules the world or throws it into confusion. The term "Social Equality," conveys deeper meaning and evokes quicker reaction than a volume of argumentation. The treatment which the Negro receives is always the outgrowth of the estimate in which he is held by his white fellow-citizens who for the time being occupy the superior position in our social scheme. When the Negro was regarded as a beast without a soul to be saved, he was dealt with in accordance with this low assumption. So long as he was held in the estimate described by Justice Taney's dictum, his legal and social status was adjusted in accordance. It was only by reason of the moral energy aroused by the anti-slavery discussion that the essential human recognition of the Negro found expression in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The thought is greater than the thing. Ideals are better than deals. A principle is greater than program. Feeling is not only the greatest fact, but the greatest force in the world. Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Unless the public mind is held to the right attitude, we look in vain for righteous public action. If through the authority lent to the doctrine of race distinction by your great office it should prove convincing to the American people, the Negro would be branded with a stigma of inferiority, and laws, customs and practices would be based upon this foundation so long as its validity remains undisputed.

Mr. President, I know that it will grieve you to learn that your colored fellow citizens whom it was your chief purpose to benefit by your Birmingham platform, place upon it a construction which may be fartherest from your intention and purpose. It is only out of a sense of duty to my race and to my nation that I write as I do. By voice and pen, I advocated your election as far as my limited opportunities would allow. I have hoped to have the chance to assist in your re-election three years hence. I am not, therefore, writing in a captious spirit of criticism, but for my deep conviction. Unfortunately, I have not yet learned the wisdom of the politician whose first principal of procedure is never to tell those in superior station the truth unless, perchance, he be first assured of its kindly reception. Candor compels me to say, Mr. President, speaking deliberately on behalf of the thoughtful element of the Negro race, that your platform based upon the assertion of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences of race is calculated, in the long run, to do the Negro as great harm as the Taney dictum would have done, had not the aroused conscience of the nation negatived the interpretation which the author placed upon it. Since the foundation of the government no other President has ever lent the authority of his great office to the doctrine that the rights of American citizens should be conditioned upon recognition of indelible difference of race.

The fathers and founders of this republic, though dealing with the Negro race, then relatively more numerous than now, and on a decidedly lower level of progress and development, were scrupulously careful to exclude from the organic law all suggestions of race distinction. The federal administration should ever be kept true to the ideal of democracy. The fountain heal must be kept pure, although the streams which flow from its tributaries after leaving from its tributaries after leving the original source. A corrupt fountain cannot send forth a pure stream.

The danger lurking in your platform, Mr. President, lies in its essential illogicality. You have attempted to derive a Northern conclusion from a Southern premise; and in doing so you have satisfied neither the North, the South, nor the Negro. The South accepts your premise, but rejects your conclusion; the Negro accepts your conclusion, but rejects your permise; while the North maintains a hesitant and lukewarm attitude towards both.

Senator Watson of Georgia, and Senator Heflin of Alabama, who typify the more radical Southern attitude, as well as Senator Pat Harrison, who occupies a medium position, were quick to retort that your conclusion would at once destroy your premise and therefore must be rejected. The governor of Alabama, who presided at your meeting, gave a courteous and cautious approval to your address as a whole, but he will probably have to pay a heavy political price when the day of reckoning comes with the junior senator from that State.

From the Negros point of view you have attempted to build a superstructure of righteousness upon a fallacious foundation. Whatever the intention of the builder, a house builded on sand will not stand when the rains fall and the floods descend and beat upon it. If you write at top of the page the declared and accepted doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences of race, it then makes no difference what you may write underneath, the Negro would be degraded into an inferior caste which would render any form of equality impossible. The Negros claim to political and civil equality does not rest upon any condition or concession, but grows out of his inalienable right as a human being and his guaranteed rights as an American citizen. When the 14th amendment made the Negro a citizen, it was intended that he should enjoy all of the benefits and fruitions of citizenship. There was not the slightest suggestion or intimation that he would be required or expected to assent to any assumption as a conditioned precedent to the enjoyment of his rights. These rights instead of being stipulated upon the assumption of racial difference, were affirmed "without regard to race or color." The Negro, if he would, cannot barter away his rights, or hypothecate them upon the acceptance or rejection of any alleged theory of difference of race. If both races should accept or reject your platform, or if one race should accept and the other reject it, in whole or in part, the rights of the black man would be wholly unaffected by such agreement or disagreement.

So far as I have observed, the white press of the South has not in a single instance clearly and unequivocally adopted your platform of political, economic and educational equality for the Negro. Bu some of them, out of considerations of courtesy, and through ambiguity of language, and with evident mental reservation, have given cautious quasi approal of your position. On the other hand, the Negro press, in considerable proportion, either condemns your doctrine of eternal racial difference or ignores it in view of the hoped-for advantages to be derived from equality of opportunity. Your words are so much more pronounced and emphatic than any which this generation is accustomed to hear, that the over-optimistic Negro is carried away with the enthusiasm of the promise without stopping to consider the impossibility of its fulfillment. But in no single instance have I seen the Negro opinion which accepts in clear and unequivocal terms the doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differense of race." Neither Major Moten nor Marcus Garvey would avow a categorical acceptance of this doctrine. Some are disposed to hope that the advantages which are calculated to flow from political, economic and educational equality would justify present' silence, but not general aceptance of your premise. Others I feel, have deluded themselves with the hope that if the conclusion be granted, the premise will speedily be overlooked or forgotten. The general drift of opinion, however, on part of the Negro press that has taken pains to give careful thought and analysis to the question, is that any form of equality will be impossible if your hypothesis becomes generally accepted. The Negro would [illegible] his birthright for a mess of pottage, with no assurance that he will receive the pottage.

President Roosevelt, in his celebrated letter to a Southern publicist, declared that he would not shut the door of hope in the Negro's face. Your policy, Mr. President, contrary to your purpose would latch, lock and bolt it to all eternity.

I am fully aware that you do not use the term "inferiority" in this discussion. Race difference does not in itself necessarily carry this connotation. There are marginal dissimilarities in racial attributes and endowments. The German is more phlegmatic than the Frenchman, the Celt is more hysterical than the Teuton, the peoples of Northern Europe show greater racial intolerance than those of Southern Europe. Italy has artistic temperament different from that of England. The Chinaman is more stolid than the Japanese The Negro possesses patience, meekness, forgiveness of spirit which surpasses that yet manifested by any other race. In the sum total of radical endowment it is not a question of equality, but of equivalence. These differences or dissimilarities are doubtless the outgrowth of environment and long continued custom and practice. I think that no biologist or psychologist who has regard for his reputation would care to venture the opinion that such differences are inescapable and eternal.

Your words, Mr. President, were addressed to a Southern audience, and must have conveyed to them the meaning which they are accustomed to attach to such phraseology. In the vocabulary of the South, race difference means Negro inferiority. It would not be fair or courteous to you to suppose that you would employ words which would convey to your hearers strange and unusual meaning. Nor can we for a moment suppose that you intend that your words would convey one meaning to the white man of the South and another to the Negro. Your language, translated in terms of Southern interpretation and understanding simply means that the Negro should be treated kindly so long as he is content to occupy the place which God and nature have assigned him. The man temporarily at the top is ever prone to set up fixed barriers between himself and the man at the bottom. This policy is as old as human oppression. But any insistence beyond these fixed limits leads swiftly to the reaffirmation of the Taney dictim that the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect but only restricted privileges which he is generous enough to bestow.

You recite with approval the views of Mr F. D. Lugard set forth in the April number of the "Edinburgh Review":

"Here then is the true conception of the inter-relation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited tradition preserving his own race purity and race pride! equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material."

This conception is magnificent in theory, but unworked and unworkable in practice. It might conceivably be applied to races of widely separated residential boundaries like Japan and England, but is utterly impossible as a permanent solution where races are inextricably intermixed on the same territory. In the Hawaiian Islands there exists today a conglomerate racial situation composed of competing numbers of Europeans, Japanese, Chinese and natives, with a sprinkling of the Negro, together with various cross progenies. Such a permanent outcome of this tangled situation as Mr. Lugard proposes is but a beautiful dream.

One opinion in sociological matters suggests another. Surely the position of Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, would be as convincing to Americans as that of the author whom most American readers met with for the first time in your citation. Writing in the June number of the "Yale Review," Professor Boas closes an illuminating article on "The Problem of the American Negro" with these words:

"Thus, it would seem, that man being what he is, the Negro problem will not disappear in America until the Negro blood has been so diluted that it can no longer be recognized, just as anti-Semitism, until the last vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared."

When doctors of equal learning disagree, the layman is at liberty to accept the diagnosis of either or reject both.

You have taken for granted o doctrine of universal importance without attempting to prove its accuracy or even to argue its validity. Without intending to do so, you have adopted the dogma of every pro-slavery advocate and of every present day reactionary on the question of human rights. On this point you are in perfect accord with the late Senator Benjamin R. Tilman, and Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., author of "The Clansman." This unintentional agreement, I am sure, will prove an uncomfortable one. The question of essential difference of race is one on which there are not sufficient scientific data to base any conclusion of value. The few psychologic tests already made are inconclusive.

On the other hand, the apostles of race prejudice assert with self-assumed infallibility that the difference of race is God-ordained, beyond a shadow of doubt or per-adventure. These extemporaneous philosophers assume omniscience without taking the pains to acquire intelligence. They take their cue from the cuticle. On sight of color they seek no further proof. They assert without proof and argue without reason. Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., the chief effect of whose works is to stir up racial strife and ill-will, presents a fair specimen of the type of argument relied upon to prove the everlasting inferiority of the Negro. When the mind is already made up, confirmation is easy. Mr. Dixon's citations are hoary, his arguments trite and his rhetorical form of statement prescribed. Not a new fact or argument has been advanced on this subject since the days of Calhoun.

President Lincoln, in the heat of political discussion, in 1856, indulged in some general remark concerning the social distinction of the races which is the only utterance from the Great Emancipator which Southern statesmen recite with approval. It is indeed disappointing to find a President of the United States at the end of the World War for democracy reverting to the undemocratic doctrine which has always been relied on to justify man's inhumanity to man.

Some time ago I wrote an open letter to Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., in which I undertook to controvert the whole fabric of his anti-Negro philosophy. I challenged him to point out a single intellectual, moral or spiritual discriminant which remains unanswered. No reputable author has as yet isolated it.

In the present inflamed state of public feeling the question of social equality can be asserted only to be assented to. Opinion on a given question is of value only when the one who entertains it is equally free to espouse the opposite conclusion. Even the President of the United States could not discuss the question of social equality in Alabama, unless it was understood beforehand that his conclusion was in consonance with local sentiment. Rational discussion on this issue serves only to inflame the mind of its opponents..

> "You may as well go reason with
> the wolf
> Why he has made the ewe bleat
> for the lamb."

The negro does not wish to agitate this issue, but only asks that it be defined, so that he may understand the range and scope of its operation. If the two races, from instinct or from calculated reasons, prefer to group themselves separately in all matters of personal and pleasureable intercourse neither would have the right or reason to complain of the mutual exclusiveness. It is only because the plea of social equality limits citizens in their public and civil rights that the Negro utters the voice of protest. The two races at present occupy separate social spheres. Social prejudice, whether it be based on color, race or religion, may be deep-seated and long abiding, albeit not eternal. All peoples at times have recognized and acted upon set schemes of social distinction by acceptance, acquiescence and silence or by prudent complaisance or compulsion. But one can hardly expect the debased party to justify the grounds of his debasement. The Negro finds himself in a segregated social world. He is making the best he can of this situation. He is not clamorous. But surely it cannot be ity, and would be wholly unable to assert his claim even if he were clamorous. Bue surely it cannot be expected that the race will meet in solemn conclave and affirm its belief in and acceptance of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences." This would justify the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan whose avowed purpose is to help the Almighty carry out his plan of everlasting white supremacy. Complaisant acquiescence on his part could not mitigate

(See next card)

Race Problem – 1921. President Harding's Speech (Discussions) 5

United States
From foregoing Card
"Open Letter to President"
Cleveland Call
12/17/21

the malignity of race prejudice, but would serve to intensify it if it be natural, and to justify it if it be acquired.

You mention with approval Mr. Stoddard's book on "The Rising Tide of Color." This book was under review by Mr. Lugard when he proposed his platform of race adjustment based on race distinction. Mr. Stoddard is the apostle of the dominance of the white race by sheer right of its color. His doctrine sounds the death knell of democracy, Christianity and the brotherhood of man. Idolatry of race is more vicious than idolatry of graven images. Mr. Stoddard and all those of his persuasion would do well to ponder the fundamental purpose of the Second Commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images or likeness—Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them." According to Mr. Stoddard it is more important that the world should be white than that it should be right. I wonder how this doctrine is received by the Japanese, Chinese and Hindu representatives who are now sitting in the world conclave at Washington. There is no attribute of the Almighty which is understandable by the darker races of mankind which dooms two-thirds of the human race to the everlasting domination of the other third by virtue of the pigmentation of the skin.

Mr. President, your platform conforms with considerable closeness to that of the late Henry W. Grady, the oracle of the new South and to that of Booker T. Washington the acknowledged race statesman of his day. Only you go farther in both directions than either of these cared to go. Mr. Grady was ready to give the Negro every consideration consistent with the separateness and superiority of the white race. He entertained certain misgivings as to the enternal barrier of race and was frank enough to declare that, if in his judgment natural antipathy were not enough to keep the races asunder he would stimulate race prejudice in order that it might acquire and hold the strength and stubbornness of instinct. Dr. Booker T. Washington, in his epoch-making Atlanta address, proposed the familiar hand and finger policy as a working hypothesis. But I find nowhere in his teaching nor in his practice any recognition of a "fundamental, inescapable and eternal difference of race."

Your doctrine of eternal difference is contrary to the scientific, ethical and social tendencies of the age. The human race is moving toward unity, not diversity. The ancient barriers of caste, religion and race are being thrown down by the onward sweep of cosmic forces. The varieties of gifts, talents and attainments of different individuals, races and nations of mankind are easily interchangeable and modificable by contact and culture. The rapid means of communication and transmission of intelligence are bringing the ends of the earth into momentary touch. No longer can any race or nation expect to hold its peculiar culture in airtight compartments. You and I, Mr. President are about the same age. It is a reasonable hope and expectation that we shall both live to see the time when aerial communication between Tokio and New York will be as expeditious as land communications is at present between Washington and Chicago. Where people meet and mingle differences disappear and unsuspected likenesses are revealed. The culture of mankind flows from the higher to the lower levels and tends with increasing facility, to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Your audience must have received your remarks about the impossibility of amalgamation with a measure of amusement mixed with amazement. A glance over the colored section of your audience would have convinced you that amalgamation is not a theory, but a fact. No discerning eye was keen enough to tell where the white strain left off and the Negro began. In face of these stubborn facts, your statement is hard to understand. According to the 13th Census, there were over 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This albescent contingency of the Negro race was not produced by the semi-tropical climate of the Southland, as Southern white men know full well. No wonder your audience received this deliverance in silence. It is idle for white men to prate about race purity while they practice race promiscuity. There is need of plain speaking on this point. It is needless to blink the facts, if I may be permitted to use your own expression, or, like the ostrich, to engage in complacent self-deception. The white man has never failed to mingle his blood with the darker races wherever he has met them in all the ends of the earth. According to President Roosevelt, Brazilian statesmen are convinced that their method of benevolent amalgamation is a more effective solvent of the race problem than the Anglo-Saxon policy of social segregation. In South Africa a million and a half Europeans have already produced one-half their number of mulattoes. The production of this composite progeny constitutes an important factor in the solution of the race problem not only in the United States of America, but throughout the world.

Several years ago I appeared before the House Committee to oppose a bill then pending forbidding intermarriage of whites and Negroes in the District of Columbia. I find that my words used then are pertinent now: "If you let people alone, of their own motion they do not usually amalgamate. The Jew will marry a Jew, the Italian an Italian the Englishman will marry an English woman. This is so in the natural course of things. Amalgmation of races is a slow and long process when you leave people alone. If you want to forbid intermarriage of races you must have in mind this fundamental principle. It makes no fundamental difference in the long run whether races are amalgamated legitimately or illegitimately. Students of history know that at one time in England there were two distinct people, the Normans and the Saxons who finally became amalgamated very largely through the illegitimate process. But, after a few generations, when the social stigma had passed away, it made no difference. The social stigma of the father is visited on the children only to the third and fourth generations. For instance, the chairman of our delegation, though a colored man, is as white inside and outside as any member of Congress. If he chooses to change his name and residence and to practice a little deception he could easily become a part of the white race. What he could do is only what 200,000 others could do in like situation." If God or nature had intended any indelible difference between the races, He could easily have accomplished the purpose by making them immiscible. It requires great human audacity to reenact laws of the Almighty to say nothing of enacting laws for the Almighty.

You urge the Negro not to imitate the white man, but to set his own racial ideals. The American Negro has acquired the European's consciousness and put on his spiritual clothes. He uses the same language, reads the same books, admires the same art, understands the same science, accepts the same standard of ethics and practices the same religion. When he builds a house or buys a suit of clothes or preaches a sermon or writes a poem he must proceed along European lines. Whatever racial aims or ideals he might have developed if left in his native country have been destroyed by transplantation and by imitation of his captors. Fred Douglass used to say "There is none of the banana in me." It is no particular compliment to the white man that the Negro imitates him. The human race is ever prone to imitate admirable qualities wherever they appear. It is not color or racial indiosyncrasy that are imitated, but attainment, of which the color may be a negligible accompaniment. The Anglo-Saxon professes to imitate Jesus, Saviour of the World, although he may affect to despise the idosyncrasies and race peculiarities of the Jew. It is not the race, but the ideal manifested by the individual. As in the water face answers to face, so the heart of man to the heart of man. The external incidents of race and color count absolutely for naught. Because the Negro's forefathers traveled in the dugout, there is no reason why his descendants may not use the steamship, the railway and the airplane. Whatever divergencies there may be in racial gifts and qualities serve but as the spice of variety. It would be a curious philosophy that urged the Indian to put aside his ancestral and tribal ways and yet encourage the Negro to revert to his African customs and traditions

If I may be permitted to revert again to the deracialized millions of mixed breed, whose ethnic identity the white man has made doubtful, it would be interesting to know what traditions and racial ideals they should be encouraged to develop. Your advice to the Negroes on this point, Mr. President, though given with a generous purpose and kindly intent, is necessarily void of effect. No one can effectively advise another to be different from himself or to be content with anything less or anything different from that which he is willing to accept for himself. In vain does the millionaire advise the pauper to be content in his poverty. The well man need not urge the invalid to be satisfied with illness. The philosopher in vain preaches to the fool the contentment of folly. The teacher who would teach his pupil to be less than himself or different from himself loses the power of inspiration. No white man, however generous his spirit is competent to advise the Negro in the domain of the segregated life which he must live apart.

"The toad beneath the harrow
Knows
Exactly where each toothprint
goes.
The butterfly along the road
Preaches contentment to that
toad."

Mr. President your doctrine ties your hands and makes it impossible for you to accord the Negro poltical equality. You were supported in the last election by 100 per cent of the Negro voters. They naturally expect official recognition according to their weight and importance in the political equation. Their votes as much as any others helped to swell the magnitude of your majority. So far you have not seen you way clear to recgnize this support by concrete tokens of political reward. The plaint of disapppointment is all but universal. Your black political allies can scarcely refrain from the familiar lines

"Behold a stranger at the door,
He gently knocks has knocked before;
Has waited long is waiting still;
You treat no other friend so ill."

No one believes that this is in accord with your spontaneous feeling and attitude, but by reason of the recognition of race difference you hesitate to accord the Negro political equality. It is also stated that you have declared that you will not appoint a single colored man to office in the South where 8,000,000 loyal Republican Negroes reside. This is not because hundreds of Negroes are not as well qualified to hold sundry offices as the white men whom you are likely to select, but because of alleged racial differences. Political equality must carry with it the right to vote and be voted for or to hold any office in any part of the United States, It is also stated that you have refused to appoint a colored man to the position of Register of the Treasury, a position accorded to the race for more than a generation, because 500 subordinate white employees in the Treasury Department petitioned you not to place a colored man over them. Racial segregation in the government departments begun under Mr. Wilson's administration is continued under yours. These instances are sufficient to prove conclusively that even a President of the United States cannot accord the Negro political equality as long as he defers to the doctrine of eternal difference of race.

It would be pleasing to suppose that the Negro could get economic equality on the basis that you have laid down but the hope is vain. Every caste system in the world is based on vocation. Social stratification rests upon employment. The Negro in Washington is not permitted to operate a street car as a motorman, not because of his lack of ability to do so, but by reason of his race alone. Any man who can run an automobile in the open streets where there are not tracks can surely guide a street car which

# KELLEY MILLER FLAYS HARDING IN OPEN LETTER

Afro-American

### Howard University Dean Sends Twenty-Four Page Printed Document To The White House

Baltimore Md.

## LOGIC AT FAULT

12/16/21

### President's Theory Of Social Equality and Amalgamation Riddled.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 15.—In printed document of twenty-four pages sent to the White House recently Kelly Miller, Dean of the Junior College of Howard University, glays recent utterances of President Harding on the race problem.

The President's statement in his Birmingham speech, that there are fundamental, eternal and unescapable differences between white and colored people is denied point blank by Dean Miller who also ridicules the President's theories of social equality and amalgamation.

"Your audience must have received your remarks about the impossibility of amalgamation with a measure of amusement mixed with amazement. A glance over the colored section of your audience would have convinced you that amalgamation is not theory, but a fact. No discerning eye was keen enough to tell where the white strain left off and the Negro began. In face of these stubborn facts, your statement is hard to understand. According to the 13th census there were over 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States.

"This albescent contingency of the Negro race was not produced by the semi-tropical climate of the Southland, as Southern white men know full well. No wonder your audience received this deliverance in silence. It is idle for white men to prate about race purity while hey practice race promiscuity There is need of plain speaking on this point. It is needless to blink the facts, if I may be permitted to use your own expression, or, like he ostrich, to engage in complacent self-deception.

"The white man has never failed to mingle his blood with the darker races wherever he has met them in all the ends of the earth. According to President Roosevelt Brazilian statesmen are convince that their method of benevolen amalgamation is a more effectiv solvent of the race problem thai the Anglo-Saxon policy of socia segregation. In South Africa million and a half Europeans hav already produced one-half thei number of mulattoes. The production of this composite progen constitutes an important factor in he solution of the race problen not only in the United States o America, but throughout the world

"If God or nature had intende ny indelible difference betwee he races, He could easily have accomplished the purpose by makin hem immiscible. It requires grea human audacity to re-enact law f the Almighty, to say nothing nacting laws for the Almighty."

moves along fixed grooves. This single citation is sufficient to show that you cannot have democracy in industry as long as you recognize inescapable difference of race.

In conclusion, Mr. President, you have called the nations of the earth to gether to promote peace and good will among men. Whatever adjustments immediate exigencies may require, whatever concessions weakness may be forced to make at the behest of strength, the weaker and darker races will not shut the door of hope in their own faces by accepting the doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable, and eternal difference" among the members of the human race.

The Negro has given his labor and his life to build up American civilization He is willing to cooperate with his white fellow citizens in all constructive ways for the common weal. He accepts without complaint the temporary humiliation of an inferior position. But he believes that God Almighty has ordained America as the trial ground of democracy where among all men there shall prevail equality with the 'i' dotted and the 't' crossed.

Yours truly,
KELLY MILLER

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# THE ONLOOKER

**By A. L. Jackson**

Chicago Defender

### HARDING TEES OFF

11/5/21

THE President has certainly started something in his Birmingham speech in which he attempted to make the South face its duty to our people and to the welfare of the country at large. He will now get some idea of the kind of stupid opposition and blind prejudice that we have had to contend with in the South for two hundred and fifty years, and especially during the last fifty years. Despite his attempt to throw a sop to the white South by conceding that the ideas of this so-called superior race on social equality were one hundred per cent American—in fact he went further and set himself up with the Divine Law Giver in declaring that such a thing could not be—he now finds that what the white South means by social equality is something entirely different from what he thought it to be when he made his speech. The Southern white man who spouts so glibly about race purity and social equality means that he would deny to Colored people all those things which would by any chance make him an efficient, self-respecting American citizen capable of working out his own destiny without the guidance of himself and of course without his usual high profits.

A. L. Jackson

### Social Equality

Social equality to him means that first class schools, the right to buy and hold property wherever he can afford to do so, trial by a jury on which there are members of his own Race, the right to vote any ticket, Republican or Democratic, the right to hold political office, even though his ability and character justify it, the right to compete with white men and women on an equal footing for any position in business or industry, the right to seek and secure professional, technical or scientific training wherever that training may be offered to others, the right to protect the honor and virtue of black women from the consequences of seduction and worse by white men, the right to consideration and treatment on common carriers and in public places on the basis of his ability to use and pay for the service required, rather than on the basis of color; that all these things and more shall be denied to any man or woman who has a drop of Negro blood in their veins.

Therefore the storm of criticism which has arisen in the South as a result of the effort of the President to make an argument which could be called fair despite his false premise. The only comment which we wish to make about the divine command of the President to the races on social equality is to suggest that what he really meant was lawful amalgamation. He simply got his terms a bit mixed. His association with Senator Underwood and other Southern gentlemen will easily account for that. What they mean is that no black woman shall have the right to bring her half white child into court and force the white father to give that child the name it ought to have. We would respectfully point out to the President and his Southern brethren that despite his wishes or ours and despite their commands to the contrary, amalgamation there always has been and amalgamation there always will be, the passions of men being what they are, and especially until the white women of the South teach their male children that the honor of no woman can be safe until the black woman is fully protected from dishonorable men, be they white or black, and especially from white men, under the present unfair laws of the South.

### Social Intercourse

So far as association between black and white people is concerned it seems to us that the same rule applies as between members of the same race, namely, that such association is entirely dependent upon the wishes and tastes of the individuals concerned. What is usually understood as social intercourse, that is to say, visiting a friend in his home or receiving a friend in your own home, must be regulated by the usual laws which govern such matters. If like [illegible] or interests or one attractive personality calls to another, who shall gainsay the working of the laws of friendship that have bridged not only the chasms of class and of race but the barrier of language and religion since the beginning of the world? The Southern white man raises a ghost to harry his own soul. It worries us but little, for in the words of that immortal poet (Robert Browning):

All that is, at all
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God
stand sure;
What entered into thee
THAT was, is, and shall be;
Time's wheel runs back or stops; potter and clay endure.

### Political Equality

We agree with the President that a solidly Democratic South and a solidly Republican black vote anywhere is a hindrance to the best interests of the country. They both exist because of the short-sightedness and prejudice of white political leaders in the South. We are Republicans because we cannot help ourselves. The South is Democratic because it won't help itself. If the South would forget its foolishness long enough to help us become the best kind of Americans we are capable of becoming with any kind of an even break in the economic and industrial contest, many of us would be only too glad to back a deserving Democrat at the polls with our vote if he was the man for the office, as we have done repeatedly in elections in New York city and other places. The South has persisted in overlooking the fact that we as a people are grateful to those who befriend us and have gone long distances to prove that gratitude and will go further.

The President will accomplish little unless he backs up his talk with deeds The so-called race problem is a national one; so is the task of leading a political party. So far we have failed to see a single appointment of an able member of our Race to any political office of service or responsibility in the North, much less in the South. We would point out to the President that some of his strongest supporters in the Senate and in Congress come from those districts in which we not only live and work but in which we vote and where out votes count. We wait, Mr. President, with patience and anxiety for the action which shall fulfill the spoken word. Good old Teddy Roosevelt acted and talked about it afterward. We are willing to try both methods, but we want **action**.

Race Problem - 1921
United States

President Harding's Speech.

(Editorials)

BUFFALO N Y TIMES
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## IE PRESIDENT IN THE SOUTH.

With all citizens who look at national problems broadly, President Harding's speech yesterday in Birmingham, Alabama, is likely to rank as the best that he has made since his inauguration. It dealt with one of the greatest of our questions—the racial one. It was neither a sectional aspersion nor a sectional appeal—the President's plea for interracial co-operation to the end that the negro population may make available to the republic the utmost capacity of development of the black race, is applicable to the North, East and West as well as to the South. There is a strong sentiment among Southern whites which is in accord with the general purport of what the President said, although as to details there is always room for a division of opinion.

It is a pity for anybody to put a political construction on this Birmingham speech, and interpret it as an attempt to "split the solid South." The Birmingham address was not political. It was neither Republican nor Democratic. It was a plea for a truly American spirit of humanity and co-ordination with respect to the negro question. It deserves credit as such.

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NORRISTOWN PA. TIMES
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## HARDING, THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO —AND THE NORTH

President Harding did not have to go south to plead the cause of the negro. He might have delivered his speech in any state of the Union and with almost as much justification as in Alabama. His solemn reminder that the colored brother has a right to equal opportunity, might, indeed, have been emphasized greatly in Pennsylvania, particularly before the members of the last Lgislature.

In theory everybody will agree with the President. It is another case of the slippery proceeding of the Imperial German government during the World War and while the negotiations for peace were under way. I will be remembered that the German representatives in every case of merit that wa submitted agreed with their opponents "o principle." But that is as far as the Germa government ever got until it was forced by circumstances to give in to the proposer. So i is with the negro and his status in this country. All approve of the President's stand on principle, but what is the attitude in practice Everybody knows the answer.

Was one expected to presume that it not necessary for Mr. Harding to speak on th line save in the south? If one were, all o has to do is to recall a happening in that northern state to which we have already made re erence—Pennsylvania. Colored folk in th commonwealth, fully aware of the restrictio about them and growing restive, approache representatives of the dominant party befo the election of the last Legislature and sough promises of betterment at the party's hand They obtained the promises. But what of th betterment? That is still in the air. True, measure, the Equal Rights bill, providing fo the enjoying by colored people of the sam privileges as are enjoyed by whites relative t accommodations, was introduced in and passe by the House. In the Senate, however, it ra up against an unfavorable condition of circun stances, and—well, it has not been heard fro since. How is that for a specific case of th drawback which President Harding seems s deeply to deplore?

The Times does not condone injustice to ward the negro in the south—let that be di tinctly understood. But when one decides institute a crusade against a wrong of any so whatsoever, one should begin as near to one home as possible. With regard to northe critics of the south, we might add, persons w live in glass houses should not throw stones.

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MILWAUKEE WIS JOURNAL
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## Racial and Sectional Voting

President Harding, speaking at Birmingham Wednesday, addressed a warning to the south and an exhortation to the negro race which hold their lesson for the whole country. He said:

**"Just as I do not wish the south to be politically entirely one party; just as I believe that is bad for the south and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colore people to be entirely of one party. I wis that both the tradition of a solidly Democrati south and the tradition of a solidly Republica black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prospe our country."**

The president is right about this. Any section which continually casts its vote for the same party deprives itself of a large part of its influence and deprives the country of the benefit of its thinking on national problems. If the south is always going to vote the Democratic ticket, then obviously southern opinion need not be particularly consulted in the nominations of either party. If Pennsylvania is always going to vote Republican, obviously Pennsylvania may be counted on to accept and to help give to the country any Republican who is nominated.

Nor does Mr. Harding mince matters when it comes to the race question. Instead of saying "any rigid groupings," he might as clearly have said "any racial groupings," for he has contrasted it with the solidarity of the negro race for the Republican ticket. Sectional voting, racial voting, any rigid grouping, means that many people are voting not their intelligent opinions of what they believe should be the policies of their country, but their prejudices, which are played on by politicians and those who make something else than the country's interests their ground for voting. Every general election makes more apparent the wrong this does the country. The president does well to warn against it.

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N Y C WORLD /10212
DECEMBER, 1921

## President Harding and the Negro

PRESIDENT Harding's speech in Birmingham upon the Negro question wa notable in its frank acceptance of the prevailing belief that intermarriage betwee the races is impossible as a practice and tha social equality is likewise impossible. "Me of both races may well stand uncompromisingl against every suggestion of social equality Indeed it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal, and inescapable difference."

This is the first time since 1865 that a President of the United States has recognized the inescapable difference publicly. It is doubtful if public opinion in the North could have been made to accept this doctrine for many years after the Civil War. The dominant part of the country based its general conclusions for many years upon a fundamenta error. It is fortunate that that period is no over and fortunate that we have a Presiden with the courage to state these facts plainly His statements should help the race problem not only here but in many other countries as well.

The President urges economic and political equality. So have many statesmen and educators both North and South, but in attaining this end there are more difficulties than appear on the surface. Race prejudice has unmistakable economic manifestations. Neither in the North nor the South does the Negro have the equality of economic opportunity which the President urged. If a labor union does not want to accept Negro members, how is this discrimination to be overcome? If a landlord does not wish Negro tenants, who is to rectify this discrimination? If a Negro has the capacity to be a foreman, but white men will not work under him, how is this discrimination to be met? Moreover, there are certain kinds of positions that carry with them a social status denied the Negro in a white community. Giving the Negro the vote did not give him political equality nor will any grant give him equality of economic opportunity. As a race he will have to demonstrate his ability to get and hold this position before he will have it. Many of the discriminations against the Negro rest upon his own inabilities as a race, and the process of removing these disabilities is an extremely slow one.

The solution of the Negro problem lies somewhere in the neighborhood of the President's formula of making him the best possible black man. If the best possible black man is able enough he will achieve such economic status as will satisfy him. In the meanwhile, discrimination will be practised against him, and any violent or artificial effort to force an end to these discriminations is likely to end in intensiying them, if not in riot and bloodshed. The rocesses by which a race becomes capable re slow. That is all the more reason why all the help that the Negro can absorb in the ffort to make himself capable should be given im. It is the part of wisdom to give him all he education, training, and encouragement hat he can make use of. But it is idle to enourage him with false hopes or formulas which is experiences are sure to belie.

The President urged the Negro to vote s an individual and not en masse as a black nan. If the Negro vote split there is no question that the solid South would split, and a normal, healthy political life spread through that section where for fifty years the deadening influence of a one party rule has prevailed. But urging the Negro to split his vote is not the effective way to invite the South back into the union on a political parity with other sections. As soon as the Republican party will stop buying the Negro vote by Federal patronage and using Negro delegates, who represent no political thought of their communities, at their national conventions; when the Republican party will appoint men who have the respect of their communities to office in the South, then in all likelihood the South will split. There is nothing new in this. When Mr. Taft came into office it was brought to his attention, but after one or two attempts to improve the situation he let the matter drop, and his Postmaster General used the Federal patronage with such effect that when the next nominating convention came around he was able to use the Southern delegates, mostly Negroes, to renominate Mr. Taft and defeat Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Hays has intimated that he will not follow in these corrupting paths. If, with the President's backing, he departs from these well beaten but degraded paths sufficiently to make a respectable and bona fide Republican party in the South, this one act will be enough to make the administration notable in history. To both the whites and the blacks in the South this would be an inestimable boon.

If the South should split for the good of the nation it is to be hoped that the Democratic party would gain elsewhere such strength as it lost in the South, for the most healthy political life demands two parties fairly equal in their total strength and to have them fairly equally divided in every section of the country.

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**PITTSBURG PA TIMES**

OCTOBER 27, 1921

## The Racial Problem.

It may take some time for all elements of the nation to digest the President's pronouncements with respect to racial differences, but sooner or later the wisdom of his utterances at Birmingham, Ala., will be generally recognized and these will be accepted for common guidance. Perhaps the principal obstacle to their general acceptance is to be found in misunderstandings of that clause of the Declaration of Independence which asserts the plain truth that "all men are created equal." President HARDING interprets it correctly to mean equality of opportunity in matters of politics, business and education. That is merely common sense. Its application cannot be confined narrowly to the relations between blacks and whites. If this truth were recognized there would be far less of that social unrest which is more menacing to our well-being than anything that differences of color ever can create.

Talking directly to the South, the President addressed the whole country, serving a warning which must be heeded in all sections. Short-sightedness of the South in its treatment of a necessary element of its population has been responsible for a movement of Negroes to all other sections, so that the racial question no longer is confined below the Mason and Dixon line. Solution of the problem has not been made easier for the South, save as the loss of labor peculiarly suited to its needs may have awakened that section to its errors, while the problem has been thrust on all other sections in greater or less degree. Wisely, the President says that "it would be well to have the word 'equality' eliminated from consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference." But, "politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation or limitations of the individual's opportunities." A sound proposition it is to "let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man's voting when he is unfit to vote."

To bring about the condition which he hopes for, the President sees that the South must "do something educationally for the Negro." All sections of the country must meet in full measure the demand that may be made for education of all their people. Only so can we have a well ordered country. The Negroes are here. Once President GRANT advocated this country's acquiring Santo Domingo, thinking it might become a refuge for the freed slaves if the South did not treat them properly. The dream did not last. Such a solution is unthinkable now. President HARDING sees the true solution. It is for all Americans to join in realizing it.

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**MINNEAPOLIS MINN. JOURNAL**

**OCTOBER 29, 1921**

## The President on Racial Relations

President Harding, in his recent address on racial relations, in Birmingham, Alabama, did much to exemplify his own belief that racial problems in this Country should be met squarely and discussed frankly, for the good both of blacks and whites. The problem of race is no longer an affair of the South alone, or of the United States, but of the world.

The President suggests lines of thought that merit full consideration. His suggestion that only the fit should vote, and that if they did, there would be no solid South, or no solidly Republican negro vote, is a story in itself. His urging that manual labor should be raised to a new status is another matter of large import.

But the heart of the President's appeal is that to the American Negro be guaranteed all industrial and educational opportunities open to any citizen. Racial amalgamation there should not be. "The black man should be the best possible black man he can, and not an imitation of the white man." Racial divergence should be recognized, while industrial and political unity is sought.

The President's stand is both courageous and wise. Anyone who studies the race riots at Omaha, East St. Louis, Chicago or Tulsa, will find that disturbances came from neglected "nigger districts" that are a menace to both blacks and whites. The wisest leaders of the Negroes and of the whites do not ask for social equality. They demand for the Negro full protection of the law, trial by jury, better schools, better transportation, and better homes. If these were secured, better racial relations would prevail in this Country.

It would be well, as President Harding suggests, if the term equality could be eliminated from the discussion. For democracy never foresees the time when one man's personality will not outweigh another's. To ignore these differences is to do great injustice. Equality, in any rational sense, simply means that each man shall have equal treatment before the law, and equal industrial, educational and political opportunities to exert his full and free influence.

The Negro has survived, while other dependent races have gone down, because of certain inherent and valuable race characteristics peculiar to him. He will go further by recognizing and developing his own genius than by trying to imitate the white man.

Whites also should do their part by bringing themselves to look at the colored folk otherwise than as a servile race.

The Negro got a later start, and he has had to grapple with hard conditions. But the wonderful progress he has made in a short time shows him capable of progress, and promises much for his future.

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**RUTLAND VT HERALD**

OCTOBER 29, 1921

## Harding and the Negro Question.

President Harding took his life in his hands, as it were, by undertaking to discuss the color question in Birmingham, Ala. He spoke to a tremendous audience of white and black folks, the latter segregated according to the southern custom, and he looked toward the "colored section" when he declared for "full economic and political rights" for the negro as well as the white man.

Naturally the negroes applauded this vociferously, but the whites were silent until the President developed the fact that he did not propose social equality for the colored folks. He called that equality a dream, and it is a dream—so far as accomplishment by fiat is concerned.

All fiat equality is a dream, except only the equality guaranteed by the constitution, and no one realizes it any better than advanced thinkers among the colored people themselves.

As a matter of fact, what such thinkers are trying for is not social equality but mere equality of citizenship, such as President Harding spoke for. Even that is something of a far cry and the executive's plain declaration of principle is not by any means premature, although in a city like Birmingham there is perhaps less intimidation of negro voters than there is elsewhere.

Like a lot of other "delicate" subjects, there is a perfectly safe and sane approach to and contact with the race question. It is an approach directly through the fifteenth article of the amendment to the constitution of the United States, which reads thus:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

That covers the matter pretty fully and is fairly good warrant for the President's position.

Race Problem—1921

President Harding's Speech.

(Editorials)

United States

# THE BIRMINGHAM SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

Savannah Ga. Journal 11/5/21

It seems wondrously strange to us why the speech of the President delivered at Birmingham during his Southern tour, should cause so much unrest to the South and to those most interested in Southern affairs, political. There was nothing new in the speech and nothing strange in the face of the fact that the action of the Administration is not in accord with the utterances of the President. This fact is so patent that it matters not what the President should say the South should rest upon what the Administration is really doing as against what is stated that he spoke in the speech that has received such wide and exhaustive comment.

The Negro is receiving no consideration whatever when it comes to politics. The party has been taken from his hands and in it, he has been made a negligible quantity or totally eliminated. The affairs of the party of the South have been totally reversed so that the Negro is not expecting any consideration feeling that there is no point from which to expect it with any hope of fruit. In fact, he is resting peacefully upon the situation having the assurance derived from past experiences that what the Administration hopes for will never materialize.

In view of the actual facts of the case, the much talked of speech brings to our minds a poem we used to read in the American Fourth Reader which ran in this wise:

> "A youngster at school more sedate than the rest,
> Had, once, his integrity put to the test;
> His comrades had plotted an orchard to rob,
> And asked him to go and assist in the job.
> He blaimed and protested, but join in the plan,
> He shared in the plunder, but pitied the man."

As a race, we cannot see that the speech of the President held out any hope for us. We acknowledge that is was very beautiful and strong of expression. It carried with it the ring of the Constitution and the amendments thereof; it evidently, was dealing in "futures" for it surely was not dealing with any act or acts of the Administration looking to the political interests of the Negro. The speech picked up the thread let loose after the inauguration. The ends tied together, make the thread span a chasm of disappointment, discouragement, and broken pre-election promises and platform profers as regards the colored brother which meke him wonder, still, "where he is at" or what can he reasonably expect at the hands of the Administration. "Words are easy" and become efficacious only when they are preceded by actions. Word came to us that the regular Republican party would be turned over to the lilywhites. We did not believe it because we had never had a precedent established before. "The deed, it was done." Before the election we had assurance that those who kept the "campfires burning, who spent time and talent in the interest of carrying a working delegation to the Chicago Convention would be given consideration. "The deed, it was done," but to the contrary, the men who persistently opposed our candidate were enthroned and given the consideration. Why Southern newspapers should rave about the speech we cannot see, knowing that every act and every sentiment coming from Washington has been against the recognition of the Negro as a factor in the politics of the nation.

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## THE PRESIDENT'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

Baltimore Md.-Herald 11/5/21

President Harding in his Birmingham speech departed from the customary Presidential platitudinal deliverance and grappled with a subject that is of intense and gripping concern to the people both black and white in the section where the speech was delivered. Taken all in all the speech was a great one, uttered in sincerity and with the deep desire and purpose of pointing the way to a solution of the most important question before the American people, and one which if not settled upon the basis of justice threatens to undermine the foundations of the government.

The President's appeal to the white South to try the solution of the "Negro Problem" upon the basis of justice by granting him economic and educational equality and political opportunity by lifting the barrier of racial disfranchisement he sounded a keynote that will find a response in the heart of every Negro and every just white man.

Whether the South has reached that stage in its development of great men that it will be able to cast off the shackles of the demagogue who thrives and fattens on the agitation of race prejudice and whose very political power is derived from the political helplessness of the disfranchised Negro, remains to be seen.

The Birmingham Age-Herald says editorially, commenting on the speech:

> "President Harding offered a practical, common-sense solution of the race problem. His views coincide with the best thought in this part of the country and will be cordially approved. He spoke on the broad grounds of humanity and an equality of opportunity, but he drew a sharp distinction between economic and social recognition.
>
> "Southern leaders, white and black, have already accepted the doctrine laid down by President Harding.
>
> "It cannot be denied that politics had much to do with aggravating the race question in the South. The cry of 'black domination' has served demagogues ever since the Civil War, and continues to do so."

The Age-Herald is one of the most influential journals of the South; if it accurately interprets the thought of the white voters of the South. the "Negro problem" has made a begnining towards a solution.

The solution can never come except upon the terms of justice, and justice is impossible, unthinkable, that does not include the right to vote.

The Negroes of the South were ready when the suffrage was first granted them to accept "the doctrine" laid down by the President and join with their former owners in politics, but they were spurned; a few years later thousands of them did join with liberal Democrats like Wade Hampton, and would have remained Democrats and their numbers increased had not demagoges of the Tillman, Jeffreys Davis and Vardaman stripe appeared upon the scene and strip them of the right to vote.

When the white people of the South indicate a willingness to concede

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## OBJECT OF HARDING WAS TO CHECK EXALTED ASPIRATIONS OF "PROMINENT" NORTHERN BLACKS.

Washington Correspondence Birmingham Age-Herald.

Montgomery Advertiser 10/30/21

It was not to teach the South manners or to imply that the South was not conducting itself properly respecting the negro that the President delivered his now famous Birmingham speech.

One of the chief objects the President had in mind was to check the too exalted aspirations which have characterized so-called "prominent" negroes of New England since the very beginning of his administration. The President wanted to make it plain that whereas he stood for a system as a result of which the negro would secure his every right, he was unalterably opposed to social equality.

These facts were developed today from an unquestionable source immediately following the return of the President from his southern trip. It is learned that the President displayed chagrin that southern senators had bitterly criticised his remarks.

Southern senators, informed of the thoughts the President had in mind when he made his speech, pointed out the fact that the effect was just to the contrary. His speech, it is said, was wildly applauded by Birmingham negroes, while his white auditors heard in silence.

And today "uplift" negroes in Washington presented to the President a resolution expressing their unqualified indorsement of the Birmingham speech.

It is learned at the White House that the President had more real enjoyment on the Birmingham trip than on any other he has made since his inauguration. He is quoted as having expressed his delight with Birmingham and its hospitable people.

Returning to Washington he made reference to all features of the Birmingham entertainment and especially to the "game" dinner served by newspaper men in an old-fashioned southern atmosphere.

The President was highly complimentary of the beauty of Alabama women as exemplified by the queens who represented the counties of the State.

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4321. ST LOUIS PROGRESS
OCTOBER 27, 1921

The colored brethren of the country, influenced by fulminating preachers and political demagogues, will not relish that portion of President Harding's Birmingham speech which pointed the utterly impossible hope of social equality between the black and white races. But the truth of his words will not be disputed where

And the sooner the negro realizes i and begins to work for his betterment along the lines the President suggests the better it will be for him in all particulars.

to the Negro his right to vote and their politicians cease to red rag him as a political issue for the purpose of riding into office, he will not continue a one-party man.

It was unfortunate that the President stressed so intensely the question of "social equality." The Negro of the South has never sought "social equality" and is thoroughly satisfied and happy in mingling socially with his own people.

What the President understands and what the Negro understands as "social equality" is not the "social equality" that the demagogue and the Negro-baiting newspapers of the South harp upon. That "social equality" is any act, condition, aspiration, occupation or ambition harbored by a Negro which white men regard as evidence that the Negro harboring them "wants to be white."

The possession of too much wealth, too much education, some certain trades, professions or occupations, residing in the same section, on the same street or block and riding in the same train or street car except as servant; are all included by different groups of white men as showing or desiring "social equality" on the part of Negroes.

These men will misinterpret the utterances of the President and understand or pretend to believe that he approves of their views on "social equality" and in that regard the Negro's position in the South may be made more unendurable than ever.

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# HARDING'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH CAUSES BIG TORRENT OF COMMENT; RACE PAPERS DIVIDED IN VIEWS

Houston Informer Tex. 11/12/21

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Washington, D. C.—President Harding's notable Birmingham address has turned loose a mighty torrent of comment. From the floor of the senate, both democrat and republican; in the daily newspapers, North and South, East and West; in the press of the people toward whom it was chiefly directed, in the pulpit, school, home, and on the street, the magna charta of American racial relationship is being discussed. It will be discussed for days and years to come.

Regardless of the merits of the address, President Harding is the first president of the United States who has had the courage to devote practically an entire address, in the heart of the South, to the discussion of a subject which concerns the South more than any other issue, and which, as the president stated, has become a world topic.

The Associated Negro Press is making a careful survey of opinion on this most unusual expression. Opinions are being gathered from every source, and will be given to the public in an unbiased manner. Enough of these opinions have been surveyed, up to the present, to state that there is a marvelous difference of opinion concerning the address, both within and without the race. There are those within the race who regard it as one of the greatest expressions of modern times, and there are those who regard it not only as a colossal mistake, but a gratuitous mark of injustice.

Practically every newspaper, both daily and weekly, has made comment on the address. The comments of the daily press, for the most part, have been on the so-called subject of "social equality." Practically every Negro newspaper has regretted that the president brought this phase of the subject into the discussion.

One of the most discussed portions of the address in Negro newspapers is with reference to the racial votes being divided. Results from the recent elections would indicate that many have taken the invitation at face value. One well known citizen said to the Associated Negro Press that "It is like a fellow who has been a guest in a home so long that he has worn his welcome out, and he is politely told, 'Take your hat. What's your hurry?'"

Another added: "It is a shame and a disgrace that we had to have President Harding tell us publicly what we should have had sense enough to know and to have done long ago. Had we done this twenty years ago we would have been stronger, politically, and every way. The president has simply given us a wise and serious tip."

Still another remarked: "If Woodrow Wilson had kept his faith with Bishop Walters, President Harding would be inviting us to come back instead of get out."

"The future of the Negro in America was never so uncertain, as since the president's address," declared a citizen of international reputation. Continuing, he said: "I believe that the president is sincere, and that he hopes to do good, but he will be misunderstood in places where it will do us hurt. We must take ourselves more seriously and set about to work out our salvation in some wise way."

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Leominster Mass Enterprise

OCTOBER 27, 1921

## PRESIDENT HARDING'S BIRMINGHAM ADDRESS

President Harding delivered a really notable speech yesterday at the semi-centennial of Birmingham, Ala. It was notable for the reason that the president really struck a new note—not new in the sense of being an original idea, nor the embodiment of original ideas, but it was a departure from the beaten path taken by most leaders of both parties in the last fifty years, or since the negro's emancipation. It approached as nearly as any public utterance the policies of Abraham Lincoln while the great Emancipator lived, and the policies which we have reason to believe he would pursue were he living today.

There are several things to indicate that the negro problem, while far from settlement, is looking up. A combination of circumstances bears testimony to this fact. One is the natural result of fifty years of intensive effort at development of the negro, social amelioration and a generally salubrious atmosphere in which he many live and progress. This is bound to produce beneficent results. Whatever may be the aversion to many to permit this condition to thrive, the results must stand out in their boldness. And it cannot be questioned that the negro is improving, showing qualities of industry and making of himself a useful citizen where he is given the opportunity.

Another thing which has a tendency to better conditions is the rank injustice which the negro has received. Not injustice alone is evident, but lawlessness toward the negro, barbarism, savagery as seen in mob-law, which has gone on to unspeakable lengths, including the lynching of men and women, black and white. These atrocities have aroused the indignation of people to the extent that it appears now that a Federal law is about to be enacted that shall make lynch-law a Federal offense. This should put a stop to mob rule, and benefit whites and blacks, and indirectly be one more step in the solution of the negro problem.

President Harding yesterday may have wounded the feelings of some, but he certainly kept within the constitutional purview, and sounded some strong notes of true Americanism. He made it known that he was unalterably opposed to racial equality, but that does not prevent equality of treatment. The political mess of both parties in the south, with the negro as the butt of ridicule, has been an indescribable state of affairs. It is well for all citizens to follow President Harding's recommendations of yesterday.

The negro should not be denied the right to vote. The cheapest, most ignorant, most uncouth type of citizens among the whites should not be taken as the standard or type of all of the white race—and if not of the whites, neither of the blacks. Party lines should be forgotten. The negro, as said, should be given the franchise, but if not, he should not be considered in the representation for Congress. There is no justice in counting men who have no votes. Yesterday's speech should be the forerunner for better things in both parties, and in relation to the negro problem generally.

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CHICAGO ILL EXAMINER

OCTOBER 28 1921

## Harding States the Race Problem

President Harding said some things about the race problem in Birmingham on Wednesday that needed to be said, and said by the President of the United States, with all his authority.

Booker Washington, at Atlanta, in the nineties, insisted that "in things social the whites and the blacks may be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand, in all that makes for political and economic progress."

That speech was received with rejoicing by millions of whites and blacks alike all over the country. Part of it has been forgotten since, here and there. President Harding, with the whole force of his position behind him, restated it and re-emphasized it.

"Race amalgamation," he declared, "there can never be. But unless our democracy is a lie, equality, so far as business, politics and education are concerned, you must accept."

The President explained with absolute definiteness that he did not mean that a Negro, as such, was the economic, political or educational equal of the white man; but that he must be given the opportunity, so far as in him lay, of becoming so.

This is the essential matter. This is what citizenship involves.

This, we believe, is what is offered the Negro in Chicago. And if the races stand together on this platform, shall we reach a solution of the race problem?

We believe that in the end we shall.

Certainly we shall not reach it by any policy that fails to include these things.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

# HARDING'S PLEA STUNS ALABAMA

## Birmingham Whites Aghast at Appeal for "Negro Equality."

## Blacks Cheer Him.

N Y C TELEGRAPH
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## GOVERNOR APPROVES STAND

(By United News to The Morning Telegraph.)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.

The democracy of the United States, in the opinion of President Harding, "is a lie," unless the negro is granted economic and political equality.

This utterance, the climax of a strenuous day in Birmingham, and received in silence by the white people in his audience as the negroes loudly cheered, was the main topic of conversation in the city after news of his words had spread.

It was a bold, sharp extemporaneous shot, directed to the whites in his audience as a result, it would appear, of the failure of that section to respond to his plea that the negro must be given a fair chance in the interests of justice and national welfare.

"I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct," he had said. "The South should cease narrowing the negro political rights.

### Alabama Governor Approves.

At the close of the address members of the President's party were frankly apprehensive as to how his remarks on the race question might be received through the South. Governor Kilby, however, who introduced the President, said afterward:

"It was a clear and conservative statement of the race question, and I prove it."

Other leaders, many of them Democrats, said the President had merely taken the position of Booker T. Washington, and despite the very obvious lack of approval manifested toward his remarks by the white people in his afternoon audience, no one of any importance ventured to express disagreement with the President's position.

The great audience which had turned out to hear him was segregated, two-thirds of the seats being reserved for whites and one-third for the negroes. Noisy yells of approval came from the negro section as he spoke for economic and political equality, although warning that an "absolute divergence" must be maintained "in things social and racial. Racial amalgamation there cannot be," he said.

The negro shouts and cheers were in sharp contrast to the virtual silence from the white section of the audience.

But the President's speech on this subject failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the gigantic crowds which surged around him all day, both before and after his park address. Every street he passed through was jammed to the curb and the hotel lobby was packed whenever he appeared.

### President Gets Degree.

The President donned the academic cap and gown to receive an LL.D. degree, and then made a quick change to the Masonic apron just before crossing the street through a line of arched swords to the site of the proposed Masonic Temple. With a silver trowel he smoothed the first batch of mortar and guided the big square stone into place as it was lowered by the crane. Then, turning to the 500 Masons, many of them dressed in the briliant regalia of the Scottish Rite degree, he spoke in praise of the principles of the order. He had been introduced as one of the "Trinity of Great Masons—Solomon, George Washington and Warren Gamaliel Harding."

"I want to tell those of you who are not Masons," he said, looking out into the street at the thousands gathered there, "that there is not anything in the ritual or oath of Masonry that any free, righeous or just American couldn't be proud to subscribe to and be the better citizen for it.

"Some wrong impressions in regard to the order have gained circulation. But I know I am a better citizen for being a better Mason. In the great cares and duties of my office I find myself heartened and my courage strengthened, because I know that this great fraternity stands ready to give of its all for the preservation of law and order."

Referring to the forthcoming armament conference, he declared that he firmly believed in the "utter futility of conflict and the excessive burdens of armament," and that "we are going to accomplish a new step forward in the world."

Mrs. Harding left during the Masonic ceremony, which was conducted in the elaborate ritual of the order, and went to the Country Club for a reception. President Harding and Senator Underwood afterward relaxed a bit at the Fashion Show, looking over the latest surprises in evening gowns.

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KANSAS CITY MO JOURNAL
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## HARDING'S HARMONY MESSAGE.

The outbreak of virulent Democratic criticism of President Harding's "race problem" addresses delivered during his visit to the South do not minimize the enormously valuable results which the visit must inevitably produce on the relations between all sections of the country.

The criticisms are in rather poor taste, coming as they do from those who are geographically the hosts of an honored guest. The president emphasized as vigorously as the English language could do so his opposition to any semblance of "social equality" between the races in any part of the country. Not a syllable he spoke in his fine defense of the constitutional rights of all citizens could be truthfully construed as approving "social equality."

It is for those who take refuge behind this flimsy pretext from condemnation for abrogating political rights through the nullification of the constitution to defend themselves, not to attack the president.

Throughout the memorable visit of the president he gave utterance to sentiments of the lofty Americanism which characterizes his whole nature. He is too big to be sectional. His message of harmony, of good will, of amity between all sections—or rather the abolition of all sectional differences whatever—will find sympathetic lodgment in the hearts of all Americans.

The petty criticisms of those who complain because he defends the constitution and inferentially condemns its nullifiers, reflect discredit upon the carping, caviling "fire eaters," who only make themselves absurd when they flaunt their ancient hatreds.

The president's declaration that the qualified negro should be allowed to vote and that the unfit white man should not be allowed to exercise a right which he abuses is a fine pronouncement, a fitting prelude to his stirring appeal to the best there is in the national life.

A mere flatterer or phrase-monger might have spoken much without saying anything that ought to have been said on such a visit as the president made. But it is to be doubted if any executive ever brought to the South a finer message of sterling constitutional Americanism or to the whole nation a more effective message of constructive concord that knows no North or South or East or West.

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PHILADELPHIA PA RECORD
OCTOBER 29, 1921

The President showed some moral courage in his Birmingham speech, because a Republican politician is expected to say a lot of impossible things about the relations between the races. It was the claim of Booker Washington to distinction that he recognized—and alienated many of his own people thereby—that it was more important for a colored man to earn $3 a day than to spend $3 a night taking his wife to the theatre. With the same comprehension of the economic foundation of all civilization, the President puts aside as chimerical the idea of social equality, but insists on the economic equality of black man and white man.

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## PRESIDENT HARDING AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

St Louis Argus 11/4/21

Much has been said about the speech delivered by President Harding, at Birmingham, Alabama, a few days ago by both pulpit and the press thoroughout the country, because he dared to discuss the Race question. Praise has been one expression, while condemnation has been the other.

A close study of the President's speech as to its effect upon the Negroes of the country The Argus sees danger, grave danger in the President's stand on what he calls "Social Equality." In the first place, we believe it ill-advised that he as President of the U. S. should have attempted to discuss a subject which he himself admits does not exist. Its a bugaboo—a time-worn saying, with many aliases, that has been used in the South to cheat, rob, murder, lynch, burn, disfranchise, Jim-Crow, segregate and ostricize the Negro for the past half century.

The question of political, economical and educational equality is impossible as long as the white people of the South, yes, of the North, or elsewhere, are being warned of the question of "Social Equality." Its an appeal to race prejudice and it finds its way into every economic and civil phase of America's life.

No greater handicap could be inflicted upon the colored people of this country today, than to have the President of the United States set his hand of approval upon evils which eminate from this social bugaboo.

**Statement of Our Case**—There is a mistaken idea on the part of most, if not all white people of this country, concerning the Negro's ambition, hope and aspiration. The socalled social equality is the least of our expectations. But, we are ambitious to have every opportunity to develop our brain in the arts and sciences of the world, just as any other citizens of the United States. We have hopes that our boys and girls shall so prepare themselves that they may be able to take their places in the drama of life, along side all men and women, where ability counts, regardless of race or color. Our aspirations are as lofty as the skies, and the rungs of the ladder by which we expect to reach them are limited only by the measure of our souls.

We want to be men, free men, enjoying every right that others enjoy, limited only by our ability. We want to breathe the sunlight of God's love in the "Land of the free and the home of the brave," and be anything we are big enough to be.

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## PRESIDENT HARDING'S SPEECH ON THE RACE QUESTION.

Atlanta Ga. Independent 11/5/21

**Much has been said pro and con about President Harding's speech at Birmingham, Alabama October 26th. Some regard it as epoch-making; others, as ambiguous and susceptible of different interpretations; that it can be construed as favoring the Negro group in their economic, educational and political rights, while others construe it as favoring the abridgement or limitations of our rights as American citizens.**

**The Independent commends some parts of it and differs on other parts. The President says:**

**"Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, provided on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial.**

**"I would favor letting the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote."**

**All fair minded men and women of both races will agree with the president on this broad principle of American fair play to all groups of American citizens. It is broad and statesmanlike and true republican doctrine as enunciated by its founders, and the president is to be com-**

mended for this statement. That is all the Negro wants—economic and political justice. That has not been accorded him. Economically he has not been given a square deal. In the trades he has not had a square deal—in many of the trades he is discriminated against—he is not permitted to be a locomotive engineer, electrician, telephone operator, conductor and motorman for street railways; and there are many other trades from which he is barred.

Moreover, in many of those where he is admitted, his wages are not the same as that of the white man—no matter what his ability and fitness may be. It is often argued that his living expenses are not as much as that of his white competitor, and, therefore, he is not entitled to as much.

Justice and fairness as advocated by President Harding would dictate that in all the trades and professions, the Negro should have the same consideration as any other group. In other words, for equal efficiency and skill each man should receive equal compensation, irrespective of his race, color or creed. For this we heartily commend the president's position.

Now, as to his contention for political equality—that is as it should be—it is in keeping with the great republican doctrine—it is in keeping with American democracy—it is as old as the government itself; for in the Declaration of Independence we find the following:

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

That means all of the people—not black men alone, nor white men alone, but black and white men alike. Hence, the president is right, so far as the theory goes, but we cannot reconcile it with his present policy. It seems to the Independent that he is preaching one thing and practicing another, when he declares:

"I will not appoint any Negroes to office in the south. Sink or swim, survive or perish, live or die, I shall stand by this position."

Is that in keeping with his great utterances of political equality at Birmingham? On the contrary, does it not contradict that policy? It has been well said: "By your actions you are judged, be your speech what it may." Deeds—not words—are the acid test of man's real meaning; and the president can be no exception to the rule. "By their fruits ye shall know them." And the deeds are the fruits. It was for this reason that the great Demosthenes, when he saw how many of his fellowmen talked and how different were their conduct and action, burst out in these memorable words:

"Oh, Athenians, when I compare the actions of some amongst you with your words, I am at a loss to reconcile what I see with what I hear."

The Independent cannot for its life, reconcile the eloquent utterances of President Harding in the campaign of 1920 and his Birmingham speech last week with the deeds and policy, which are now being worked out in his administration of affairs with regard to the Negro.

Not more than three months ago, the present administration, aided and abetted the lily-whites in cutting down the south's representation in the republican national convention for the purpose of giving them advantage over colored republicans. And in spite of the eloquent appeal of Henry Lincoln Johnson, the only colored national committeeman in the party, the Harding administration declared: "This reduction of the colored representation must be made." When Colonel Johnson pointed out that it was not right because colored men did not have the untrammeled right to the ballot, it was passed against the strong protest of Colonel Johnson who represented the very people for whom the president so eloquently advocated political equality at Birmingham Which are we to believe—his words at Birmingham or his actions a Washington?

The president has made a complete surrender to the lily-white who have moved heaven and earth to eliminate the Negro from party council. He has placed the leadership in the hands of such men Bascom Slemp, of Virginia, who has forced colored republicans fro the councils of the party, and today there is an independent republic party in the state of Virginia as a result. They were driven out the republican convention by order of Slemp and his bunch of lil whites; and today they have a ticket in Virginia, all the candidates which are colored republicans as a solemn protest against Bascom Slem and his colleagues who were placed at the head of the republican part in Virginia at the instance of the president.

On July 26th, C. B. Miller, Joe Keeling and Houston were del gated to come to Georgia and remove the regular republican sta central committee, which was elected by the regular republican co vention of Georgia in convention assembled, recognized and endors by the national convention at Chicago; and a new committee that ha no semblance of regularity was put in charge, because the president d clared that there must be a white leadership without regard to regu larity, and rules of the party.

We again ask: does this comport with the president's demand fo political equality as advocated at Birmingham? We submit this t the deliberate judgment of mankind and ask a verdict at their hand

So far as the Independent is concerned, it rather judges by hi deeds.

But let us hope the president has seen his mistake and has de cided to make good his words as delivered at Birmingham. Let u hope that he has decided to follow in the wake of the immortal Lincoln Grant, Stevens, Sumner and Harrison, who not only preached th doctrine of economic, civil and political equality of all men, irrespectiv of race, color or creed, but put it into practice in their administrations If the president shall do this, he will have redeemed his promise made in his campaign pledges and safeguarded the doctrines and principles of the republican party which stands for a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Now, as to his utterances on social equality, that was gratuitous so far as the Negro is concerned. The Negro has never asked no invited social equality. That has been the bugaboo of his enemies. At no time has the Negro shown any desire for social equality—that is the least of his dreams. That is a matter that will take care of itself—it is not a subject of government. He has always been satisfied with is own people—all he wants is a square deal in his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which is guaranteed by the federal constitution. This guarantee is expressed in the 14th and 15th amendments, and if these amendments are enforced by the president, the Negro is satisfied. They guarantee to him economic, educational civil and political equality, and that is all the Negro asks. Social equality is nothing more than an irridescent dream—nobody wants it and nobody seeks it.

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# POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY.

Houston Tex. Informer 11/19/21

Some of the Southern critics of President Harding's Birmingham speech have become exceedingly wrought up and "het up" over his plea for political, economic and educational equality for the black race in this part of the country and already the air in Dixie is being charged and surcharged with direful threats for the colored brother in the event he should seek what the president and constitution of America say belong to him and his as American citizens.

This paper stated formerly that President Harding, like countless others of his race, confused "social equality" with "social intermingling."

This criticism on our part was hurled at the chief executive for his refreshing and illuminating ignorance on this phase of the subject which he endeavored to elucidate on in his Dixie discourse.

It is possible for a man to be another's social equal and then not be his social companion.

Social equality really means the recognition of one standard of citizenship and is differentiated from "social intermingling," which means the mixing and mingling of all peoples and races.

Social equality is based and founded on the "fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" doctrine and was proclaimed to the world in the American declaration of independence, which said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness."

There is a physical law which holds that "water will seek its level," and those who become unduly alarmed and enraged because of President Harding's utterances are misapplying and misdirecting quite a bit of energy that they will doubtless need later.

Not even the ignorant and vicious member of the colored race has the remotest idea of even trying to overthrow our constitutional form of government and he challenges no man's "supremacy."

The colored American only asks that the American white man, especially in the South, give him a man's chance and at the same time aid him to be the best possible citizen of this commonwealth.

We are proud of our record in this country and for this country, even before the shackles of slavery were torn from our ankles and our hands unfettered. No black man has ever raised his hand or voice against the American flag nor has our race ever produced an assassin or traitor.

The black man has never organized an infernal and insidious order for the expressed purpose of operating clandestinely and ultimately precipitating civil disorder, internal chaos and confusion nor does he regard the written laws of the land as a "mere scrap of paper."

But social equality, not as interpreted and construed in the average white man's mind, particularly of Dixie, is elementally and essentially the first fruit of democracy and Americanism, both from a rudimentary and fundamental viewpoint, presupposes equality of citizens.

**If the president had stated that "social intercourse," or "social intermingling," was not to be desired between the two races, he**

Race Problem - 1921
United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

# The President's Birmingham Speech

Houston Post
Texas 10/31/21

The reaction of the South to President Harding's deliverance on the race question at Birmingham is a feeling, not of resentment against the president, but of disappointment that he should have chosen the subject for that occasion. The untimeliness and inappropriateness of the speech has thoroughly impressed the people of this section.

No one doubts but that Mr. Harding's intentions were good, but the effects of such remarks uttered by a president in a State like Alabama are calculated to be more harmful than helpful, in solving the problem under discussion. The risk was great that many of the negroes would misconstrue his language and exaggerate his meaning and under the inspiration of his encouragement assume an attitude that will make for friction between the races.

The president took pains to declare against any attempt at achieving social equality, going further than any other president has done in his utterances on the subject, but it is a question whether his differentiation between the kinds of equality will be understood by the negroes.

As for the economic equality for which he spoke, the negro already has that in very large measure in the South. The negro is not interfered with in his efforts to work and acquire a competence, but on the other hand has the aid and sympathy of the responsible white people. The negro is a free agent in the economic realm, as far as his efforts are compatible with the inexorable rule against social equality, and his position depends upon his own ability and talents.

The issue of political equality of which the president speaks is another matter, and while the theory may appear sound, it meets grave obstacles when it is put into practice. Certainly, in States such as Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and others with heavy negro populations, the white people are not prepared to surrender their political supremacy.

It is unfortunate that the president should have chosen the State of Alabama as a place in which to revive the agitation of the race question. The new South has been making earnest efforts to solve the problem bequeathed it by the reconstruction era, and the president's uttterances can only retard progress by stimulating unnecessary and mischievous agitation.

Birmingham is a city typical of the new South in material progress. Its semi-centennial was an occasion designed to celebrate the great strides the South has made in this new era. It is disappointing to Southern people that the president should be so little impressed with their achievements as to largely supplant reference to them with a discussion of an issue it is peculiarly the province of the South to meet in its own way.

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## THE PRESIDENT IN ALABAMA.

Richmond Planet
10/29/21

It seems indeed strange that His Excellency, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States should have chosen Birmingham, Alabama as the place to deliver his analytical address upon the race question and to have attempted to give information upon a subject, which was better understood by all classes of citizens, regardless of race or color than in any other place in this great land of ours. Certainly, the very platform, which he so ably laid down has been accepted by every white and colored leader in the Southland, who had an eye single to the South's economic prosperity.

Evidently, white men were much amused at President Harding's sincerity and wondered why he had not delivered that racial "gospel" upon the phantom of social equality in cities like Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Omaha, Denver, St. Paul; Seattle and San Francisco. He might have carried the mission to other States,, where people are not informed as to the merits of this one great issue. The distinguished occupant of the White House remarks that "racial amalgamation there cannot be." This was rather an amusing statement, when many of the people in Alabama, whom he took to be white people were in reality colored ones. There is every reason to believe that more amalgamation between the races is going on in the Southland behind closed doors than in the North land, with its matrimonial publicity.

No colored leader of renown or of recognized respectability in the South land will take issue with President Harding upon the fundamental statements uttered by him. All of them have repudiated "social equality." It would seem then that our President was busily engaged in a task of telling white and colored people of Alabama, just what they already knew.

President Harding is quoted as saying that the problem of race is of concern not only to the South, but to the United States and to the world, whatever that may mean. The surprising part of his address is embraced in the fact that he has, contrary to the fundamental principles as outlined in the Constitution elected to see certain classes of American citizens "through green goggles," so to speak and he has decided to treat them differently from other members of the body politie.

What other conclusions are we to draw from his emphatic remarks. Every Southerner, who listened to his oratorical deliverance knew more about the best manner and method of dealing with their fellow American citizens of color than he did and yet he delivered to them an address, which not only occasioned surprise, but elicited good humored comment as they remarked to themselves, if not to him, "I told you so." He dealt with the migration of the colored people North. In the immigration proposition, the larger proportion of the better class of colored people remained in the South, while the larger class of the worst class of colored people moved their belongings North, where their outrageous conduct in some instances reacted against the better class of colored people, who were working side by side with them.

President Harding said that he advocated the economic equality of the races in the same sense and to the same extent that he would if he sopke of economic equality between members of the same race. He recommended equality in proportion to the honest capacities of and deserts of the individual. No right-thinking colored man asks more and no conservative individual of the same race is willing to accept less. He declared that "men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality." They have been doing this for about 250 years. The primary reason for this has been that any other course led down the 'hemp route.' The colored folks preferred to take the straight and narrow path which led to the "New Jerusalem." President Harding said that he would let the black man vote, when he is fit to vote and prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. The question naturally arises as to why the distinguished resident of Washington should give advice in this matter, when he has absolutely no power in the premises and when from his political affiliation, which is in direct opposition to the Democratic machine, the Democratic machine would ascertain just what he wanted done and then would proceed not to do it.

The white men, who agreed with him and his views, in matters political are as helpless to bring about a change as new-born babes. The white people of the Southland, who are most friendly to the black people are not in charge of the political machinery of the State and their protests against outrages are as impotent as those humanitarians and economists, who live in a far northern clime. As President Harding and his Republican associates have turned us over to our supposed enemies in the Southland, the less he says relative to our final disposition, the better. We are now busily engaged in making friends with that class of white southerners, whom we have estranged for more than fifty years in behalf of the northerners, who claimed to be our friends and who declared to see to it that we were put in possession of all of our civil rights and privileges under the Constitution of the United States.

From the way our distinguished President is handling the situation, we were just as well off under President Grover Cleveland and President Woodrow Wilson as we expect to be under President Warren G. Harding, whose praises, we have sung from one section of this country to the other and whose success we had prayed for from the time he was nominated up to the time that he was elected. He has not exactly gone back on us as his supporters, but he is giving voice to some strange utterances, which sounds strangely like those of the Democratic leaders, whom we have been opposing.

President Harding says that there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such differentiation between the races as he has suggested,—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. This kind of education has been in operation for nearly half a century. We are dumbfounded to learn that the President of the United States did not know it. The Southland is full of those kind of leaders. Dr. Booker T. Washington did his part in developing this kind of leadership. In later years he realized that he had gone too far to the extent of eliminating the principles of manhood, without which no race can rise to the full height of American citizenship.

He declared that the race problem was one noticeable in Africa, in South America, in the South Seas and of the World. Just how it can be a problem in Africa, the home of the Black Man is an amusing situation and a most interesting one. If the black people belong there, what are the white people doing in the land of the Ethiopian? But then this is raising another question. It seems to us that President Harding might have cited quotations from that Holy Bible upon which he took his oath of office and he would have found therein fundamental principles, the observance of which will settle all problems, racial and otherwise. When he declared that the black man should be encouraged to be the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man, no sensible person will disagree with this elucidation of an all important subject. Still people imitate the best, whether the best be in the form of a white man or a black one. It is not the color that they imitate. but the qualities and the abilities possessed by the model.

President Harding said that it was a question of national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance. The South has built up educational institutions and throughout this sunny land colored children may be seen wending their way to the school-houses and the per cent of illiteracy has been steadily decreated. Some of the best friends the colored people ever had or ever will have now live below the Mason and Dixon Line. President Harding need not be concerned about the over-stocking of the professions as against the preparation for farm-life and business avocations. Water seeks its level and when the overstocking of the professions takes place, the gaunt wolf of want will drive those not fitted for the professions to the trades for which they are fitted.

If the schools will make more rigorous their standards of efficiency, this question will settle itself. The distinguished visitor opened the gate-way of Hope when he said.

In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him. the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable. At any rate, here is a problem and it is pressing for settlement.

This means then that the Negro as an industrial factor will come unto his own, with the North, South, East and West competing for his services. The foreigner has been barred out and the Negroes are here. It seems to us that this will do more to adjust and settle this race question in Ameri-

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# THE PRESIDENT'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

Chicago Defender 11/5/21

IN HIS RECENT SPEECH at Birmingham, Ala., the President dwelt at some considerable length on the so-called race problem. This speech has attracted a great deal of attention and called forth many comments pro and con. That the extreme Southern Democrats would find fault with and condemn any utterance which might be construed as favorable to our group is to be expected. The President is an eloquent and forceful speaker. He can always clothe his thoughts in language both attractive and convincing. The only criticism that we feel called upon to make is the serious vein in which he treated the mythical subject of "social equality."

ALL INTELLIGENT PERSONS know there is no such thing as social equality even among those of the same race and blood. All white people are not social equals, and the same is true of our group. Whenever, therefore, the bugbear of social equality is brought up, considered and discussed in connection with civil and political rights it is unquestionably the argument of the political demagogue. The President took the right stand in dissociating civil and economic rights from social privileges. One is public, the other private. One belongs to the domain of governmental administration, the other is under the absolute control of the individual.

SOCIAL EQUALITY is the outgrowth of mutual and reciprocal contact, and that contact is usually confined to people who are not only identified with the same race but who are equals along other lines. It is therefore impossible for wealth and poverty, intelligence and ignorance, vice and virtue, to meet upon terms of social equality. This bugbear should not be seriously considered or discussed, because whatever it is the white man cannot be more bitterly opposed to it than we are.

WHILE THE PRESIDENT gave utterance, as he usually does, to some splendid sentiments and magnificent ideas, we frankly confess that we are more interested in and concerned about what he does than in what he says. We prefer to judge him by his acts rather than by his utterances. He declared, for instance: "I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote." And yet the President is aware of the fact that in the very state in which this utterance was made thousands of white men are allowed to vote who are unfit to vote, not because they are white, but because their votes can be relied upon to retain in power the local political machine by which that state is dominated.

THOUSANDS OF OUR PEOPLE are prevented from voting, not because they are black, nor because of an apprehension that "Negro domination" would result, but because of the knowledge of the fact that their votes would be practically solid against the present local machine in that state. But what makes the situation still more inexcusable and indefensible is that it is done through an evasion, violation and nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States—the very instruments the President is sworn to enforce. If he is a strong believer in the civil and economic equality of the races he should see to it that these instrumentalities are carried into effect in every state in the Union.

HE FURTHER STATES: "I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black Race might be broken up." So do we. Outside of the solid Democratic South this is being rapidly brought about to a greater extent than perhaps the President is aware of. The same thing would be true of the South if members of our group could control the situation. But they are powerless to do so; the local Democratic machines of that section seek to repel rather than attract our vote because they feel that such a course is the best paying political asset. In other words, they find that the mythical race problem serves their purpose to a greater extent than any other because they have been able thus far not only to deceive and mislead the public, North as well as South, but it is the one subject by which they are enabled to successfully intimidate the white men of that section who are not in harmony with the local political machine called the Democratic party.

THE BEST WAY to emancipate the white men of the South from the domination of the local machines is to see to it that the mandates of the federal Constitution with reference to the elective franchise are rigidly and impartially enforced. This requires firm, decisive and positive action on the part of the administration. Pleading and begging will do no good. Catering to their whims is suicidal. They respect nothing but power. The President's declaration to the white section of his audience on the matter of giving the Negro full civil and political rights was like exploding a bomb in their camp. "Whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality."

HUMAN NATURE is the same the world over. He who is willing to become a martyr to a cause, however right or just that cause may be, is an exception to the rule. The exclusion of our people from the ballot box renders useless any effort on the part of the independently inclined white people to openly antagonize the local Democratic machines. Hence this class have remained reticent and inactive during the past quarter of a century simply because they know that any effort on their part under the existing order of things to antagonize the ruling machine would be useless.

A MORE APPROPRIATE time and place the President could not have selected to give expression to the thoughts and ideas promulgated in his speech. We hope that his official acts will be in harmony with his public utterances.

Race Problem-1921

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials) (2)

United States
(From foregoing card)
The Negro's Status, etc.
Literary Digest 11/19/21

the Baltimore *Afro-American*. This negro paper, while admiring the President's courage, is disappointed because he subscribes to "the white South's view of social equality," which means "intermarriage laws, jim-crow street-cars and railways, no political offices for colored people, and discrimination at every point of contact between the two races." And in *The Crisis* (New York) edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, we read:

> "Mr. Harding meant that the American negro must acknowledge that it was a wrong and a disgrace for Booker T. Washington to dine with President Roosevelt!
>
> "The answer to this inconceivably dangerous and undemocratic demand must come with the unanimous ring of 12 million voices, enforced by the voice of every American who believes in Humanity."

And in another negro monthly, the New York *Crusader*, Dr. Cyril V. Briggs, Executive head of the African Blood Brotherhood, argues that the President's speech supports "the worst negrophobist element of the South on at least six vital points:"

> "(1) the denial of Social Equality to the negro; (2) the plan of supporting such negro leaders as will acquiesce in this denial, and in utilizing white control of Negro schools to further increase the number; (3) the claim of inherent negro inferiority; (4) the unwritten Southern law that 'black men cannot be white men,' which, after elimination of color change as a recognized impossibility, simply means that black men cannot expect to enjoy all the rights and privileges of American citizenship enjoyed by white men, citizens and aliens; (5) the South's plan for exclusive industrial education as against any higher education for negroes; (6) the South's noisy opposition to racial amalgamation while silently indulging in its practice."

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## PRESIDENT HARDING'S SOUTHERN SPEECH

Wilmington Del. Advocate 11/4/21

Last week the President made an address in the heart of the South that has evoked a great deal of comment and considerable criticism favorable and unfavorable. If this country is a real democracy rather than a supposed country where the principle that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then much that the President said in his Birmingham speech is not a matter for adverse criticism.

In our opinion there has been in the past too much pandering to the un-American prejudices of the South. There has been too much of a desire to condone the crimes of the South. There has been a too weak and vacilating policy on the part of the North in dealing with the South's defiance of the constitution which is supposed to be the basic law for all the country. For years colored men have been denied the right to vote for no reason other than that their skins were black. Various southern states have prescribed suffrage laws which every intelligent person knows were contrary to the constitution, yet, when tested before the highest legal tribunal of the land, these unjust, un American laws were, by a narrow margin, declared legal, based on a state's right to regulate its suffrage.

If this country is a real democracy then it is the right of every citizen to perform the highest duty of American citizenship and that is to cast a free and untrammeled ballot. Among other things in his speech the President said:

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference."

This matter of social equality is a vague, unreal and evanescent thing. Who is to define what it is? If such a thing really exists it is regulated by the individual. Is it social equality to want to ride in first-class manner when a colored person pays a first-class fare? Is it social equality when being in a strange city, or home city, a colored person desires to get a bite to eat, having the price to pay for it, goes to a place where food is sold to buy it? Is is social equality for a colored person to desire to hear good music, see an uplifting drama and buy a seat where his means will permit Is it social equality for a colored person to patronize the public libraries and the institutes of fine art for the cultural benefits to be derived from them? How much of social equality is there in colored children attending mixed schools and having that healthful contact, that beneficial understanding that is so easily obtained in the formative years of life between the races? If these things mean social equality then the colored people want them, and if these United States form a real democracy they are entitled to them, or this country is not the land of the free, and the constitution of the United States is a misnomer and the Declaration of Independence is a dead letter.

"I wish," confessed Mr. Harding, "that both the traditions of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black vote might be broken up. I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and demagogy in this line."

Does the President mean to suggest that the time has come, in his opinion, when the colored voter should forswear his fealty to the Republican party and divid his vote? Mr. Harding is the head of the party and if that is his advice he may find the colored voter taking it. There are quite a few pivotal states in the North where this Negro solidarity in casting their votes insures Republican success. Should the Negro vote in such states as New York, Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Delaware in any considerable number go over to the Democratic party there would be no Republican President and Republican majorities in the Congress would not obtain. This matter of dividing the Negro vote has recently been discussed by thoughtful colored men and women. It may be good policy to make political friends of the Democrats as they have in many instances given the colored man official recognition.

The Advocate is a Republican newspaper because it believes in the principles of the party. We have always felt there were certain traditions in the Republican party that its present-day leaders would not attempt to subvert. When other members of the party chased false gods the colored voter remained unfalteringly loyal. What course the colored voter shall take, in view of the President's statement, it is too early to forecast.

The hour calls for a leader, a man of the race who has the political acumen, the broad vision, the statesmanlike grasp of a Frederick Douglass, with the organizing ability of a politician of the front rank.

Race Problem-1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials) 61

United States

# THE NEGRO'S STATUS DECLARED BY THE PRESIDENT

Lit. Digest 11/19/21

THE COURAGE OF A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT in going into the very heart of the South—where the negro question is bitterest. where political and social equality are denied the black man, but where the fundamental right to earn a living is more freely given than in the North—and telling an audience of whites and blacks in Birmingham, Alabama, just where the two races should enjoy equality, and where not, arouses the admiration of the Southern press. "Politically and economically, there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity," he declared, "provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial."

"It has taken sixty years for a President of the United States—a Republican President—to pick up the broken threads of understanding as they fell from the cold hand of the martyred Lincoln," says the Birmingham *News*, which hails his address as "a message of vital importance to the South, the nation, and the world," and states that "it gave the South a wholly new vision of the clear-headed, thoughtful courage of the man." And in the same city, where his speech was heard and read in its entirety, *The Age-Herald* welcomes his views as affording "a common-sense solution of the race problem," and as coinciding with "the best thought in this part of the country." While some Southern papers criticize the President's taste in choosing the negro problem as his topic in a Southern city, and while others sharply challenge his theory of political equality, many of those that have reached us agree with *The Age-Herald* and *The News* that the President has merely formulated with courage and frankness a doctrine already held by "Southern leaders, white and black." Another Southern view is reflected in the words of Senator Harrison (Dem., Miss.), who declares that "to encourage the negro, who in some States, as in my own, exceeds the white population, to strive through every political avenue to be placed upon an equality with the whites, is a blow to the white civilization of this country that will take years to combat." Negro opinion, as quotations to follow later in this article will show, is divided, one section challenging the President on his denial of racial equality, the other unreservedly indorsing his speech.

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Lit Digest 11/19/21

"WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR NOT, UNLESS OUR DEMOCRACY IS A LIE, YOU MUST STAND FOR THAT EQUALITY."

President Harding speaking on the race problem in Woodrow Wilson Park, Birmingham, on October 26, before an audience of some ten thousand negroes grouped at one side, and twenty thousand whites at the other.

This speech, delivered during Birmingham's semi-centennial celebrations, declares the New York *Globe*, is "the most important and the most intelligent statement of the right approach to the negro problem sponsored by any public man in a generation." "It is the most significant utterance on the question of nationalism since Henry W. Grady's momentous speech on 'The New South' before the New England Society in 1886," avers the Los Angeles *Times*, which goes on to say:

"Grady in that masterful appeal, which to this day has its influence, called upon the North to get the Southern viewpoint and to realize that a new South had arisen out of the ashes of the old. Harding appealed to the South to adopt the national rather than the racial viewpoint on one of the baffling issues before the republic.

"Grady invited the two sections to understand each other. Harding urged the nation to rid itself of sectionalism through aiding the South in breaking the political and economic shackles which the negro question has fastened upon it."

The World War, which by its economic consequences brought about a great migration of colored people to the North and West, has made the negro problem a national instead of a sectional one, said the President; in fact, he added, "we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet," since "our race problem here in the United States is only a phase of the race issue that the whole world confronts." While he saw "no occasion for great and permanent differentiation" between the whites and blacks in political and economic fields, he insisted that both must recognize "the absolute divergence in things social and racial." The President went on to say in part:

"When I suggest the possiblity of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individuals.

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have the word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. . . .

"I would let the black man vote when he is fit to vote and prohibit the white man voting when he is not fit to vote. . . .

"Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights.

"On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it. . . .

"I would accept that a black man can not be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

Turning to the political aspects of the problem, the President appealed to the South to give up its tradition of political solidarity:

"Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely of one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country.

"I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We can not go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines.

"With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise, I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity."

After defining his views on economic and political equality for both races the President leveled his hand toward the white section of his audience and said: "Whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality."

The President has enunciated "a new policy toward the race issue, so far as the Republican party and the nation are concerned," declares a Birmingham correspondent of the New York

*Herald.* Turning first to Southern comment—for, as the Mobile *Register* remarks, the South is the "assay office" for any theories relating to the negro—we find Senator Watson of Georgia insisting that the people of the South will not admit the black man to political equality because it is "inseparably connected with social equality." "There is no such thing," he adds, "as economic discrimination against the blacks in the South." The President's words, predicts Senator McKellar of Tennessee, will "arouse racial discussions and racial prejudices that had better been left dormant." "So far as the South is concerned," says Senator Heflin of Alabama, "we hold to the doctrine that God Almighty has fixt limits and boundary lines between the two races, and no Republican living can improve upon his handiwork."

"A truce to race problem talk!" exclaims the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, which avers that "there is no race problem in the South," because—"a sensible negro does not want social equality with the white men, and sane white men know that such a thing is impossible." The President's address was "tactless," and "a violation of the proprieties," in the opinion of the Birmingham *Post;* and the Little Rock *News* fears that his words will "make the ignorant and vicious of both races more vicious." "President Harding has stirred up a hornets' nest and done violence to the South's cherished tradition of white supremacy by proclaiming political equality as the goal of the new dispensation," remarks the Selma *Times-Journal.* "It irritates the South to be lectured on its alleged ill-treatment of the negro," says the Nashville *Banner.* "The South resents intermeddling, whether that intermeddling comes from high or low," remarks the Montgomery *Journal,* in the course of an editorial headed "The President's Mistake." Complaining that Mr. Harding was manifestly "inspired by the belief that the negroes are the victims of injustices and oppressions which it is the right of the nation to redress if the South shall fail in its duty to do so," the Dallas *News* declares that the South will dissent from this idea and will protest against its dissemination. In the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot* we read:

"In a very real sense social and racial segregation carries with it an impairment of the equality of opportunity. In a very real and troublesome sense equality of opportunity encroaches on social and racial separateness. The South's problem is one of blending these two sets of principles for the good of both races. In its practical aspects the problem begins where the President leaves off. The promised land where the two races will dwell together in peace, neither encroaching upon the other, each enjoying equality of opportunity and equality of reward for achievement, but each preserving a dignified racial separateness —this Promised Land has already been shown to us by many a Moses of our own. The President's formula takes us no further than Nebo. We have been admiring the view from Nebo for a long time now, and it does not help much to be told to admire it some more."

On the other hand the Atlantic *Constitution* thinks that "there is no reason why the whole so-called 'negro problem' should not be solved along the very lines laid down by the President, and solved to the satisfaction of the whole nation, removing the race question as a political issue and enabling the people of every section to consider all economic issues on their merits." *The Constitution* goes on to say:

"The day when that will be done is coming; and, so far as the South, at least, is concerned, the sooner it comes the better!

"That development has been impossible up to this time simply because the racial issue has been paramount. The Republican Party has kept it so!

"It will continue to be paramount so long as there is danger of overthrowing or evading or nullifying the white supremacy that is provided for and guaranteed through the instrumentality of the primary election system.

"The primary system rests upon the bedrock of self-preservation.

"Certainly, there is nothing in the President's address to cause any alarm on this score; while, on the other hand, his Birmingham address taken in connection with the attitude of his party in restricting negro representation in the national conventions, and practically reorganizing itself in the South on a basis of a recognition of white supremacy, gives abundant grounds for hope that the settlement of this vexed question that has long perplexed the nation and especially the South is at hand."

The President "faced the issue squarely, without quibbling or evasion," remarks the El Paso *Times*, which concedes that the negro problem is becoming a problem "for the nation to face." This Texas paper commends the President's fearlessness, and declares that "careful, cool, honest attempts to understand this problem and to solve it are better than to forget it, or to resent every effort to discuss it intelligently." The Louisville *Courier-Journal* also praises Mr. Harding's address; and under the heading "A Brave Utterance" the Baltimore *Sun* remarks:

"The negro problem is one so bristling with difficulties that few of our statesmen have cared to face it frankly. It is not a simple one, and no one but an ignoramus would assert that it can assuredly be solved through any theoretical formula. Almost irresistible forces have compelled the South to handle it as it has been handled there. But it is not solved and it is presenting new and alarming phases. The people of the country, of the South particularly, must give thought to them. President Harding has not spoken the last word on the subject, but the candor and courage he showed are thoroughly commendable. The South must meet his challenge in like spirit. Any improvement possible in the relations between the white and black races must come through the application to the problem of these two qualities."

"Intelligent and fair-minded Southerners will find no fault with the President's propositions," thinks the evening edition of the same Baltimore paper. "We believe that the effect of the President's Birmingham speech will be wholesome," says the Charleston *News and Courier;* and the Louisville *Times* characterizes it as "an impressive enunciation of truth." "Bravery," this Louisville paper adds, "was required for the utterance that 'men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality.'" The views that he exprest, says the Kinston, N. C., *Free Press*, "are entertained by the best thought in the South." "President Harding's doctrine is sound," declares Mayor Grace of Charleston, S. C. Turning again to the Birmingham *News* we read:

"The South will have no quarrel with President Harding upon his address. If the speech was greeted in a measure of silence, it was because such statements from a President were astounding, and the people were thinking and reflecting. It was not a matter for cheering, but for study."

Turning to the negro press, we find enthusiasm over the President's Birmingham speech tempered in some quarters by dissatisfaction with what he said about social equality. 'President Harding has given to the nation—and to the world—the Magna Charta of Racial Adjustment, according to his convictions," says the Associated Negro Press, representing 112 colored journals throughout the United States. In a bulletin sent out by its Department of Opinion we read:

"There are two features of the address that have come in for more comment than any of the others. The two are 'Political Equality' and 'Social Equality.'

"The discussion of the 'Social Equality' portion of the address has been very extensive within the group, as well as without. There is a vast difference of opinion concerning the advisability of this reference. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Kelly Miller, Dr. J. E. Mooreland and others, commonly classified as the 'intellectual group,' are in the section of those who think social reference in the address was untimely, and yet insist, since the reference was made, there should be no barrier set up by any nation, or individual, seeking to dictate the policy of social selection between individuals.

"There has seemed to be more excitement and alarm, by both races, on this phase of the President's address, than any other. It is noticable that the active political group, headed up by R. R. Church, Henry Lincoln Johnson, Perry Howard, Walter Cohen and others, in the Republican party, accept the address as a masterpiece of carefully exprest opinion."

The Birmingham address "will stand forth as the most helpful and wholesome political utterance of the decade in America," declares the New York *News;* and the New York *Age*, another colored paper, remarks that:

"Few of our Presidents have exhibited such moral courage in pleading for just treatment of the negro, in the section where that quality has been so severely lacking. . . .

"The President's insistence that men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality was undoubtedly necessary in order to keep the uneasy consciences of the whites from balking at this bugbear. The fact that the whites have done so much in the past to bring about a quasi 'social equality' by the mixing of the blood of both races, has rendered them unduly sensitive on this point."

"Equality of opportunity is all that the negro asks," says the Indianapolis *Ledger*, which adds that social equality is "something that the negro race has never contended for." The President "asked for a square deal for the colored citizens," notes the Knoxville *East Tennessee News*, which fears, however, that his appeal "fell on deaf ears." Still another colored paper, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, praises the President's speech for its "force and candor," but adds the opinion that "the South as a whole is not disposed to hold any deserving member of the negro race back politically, economically and educationally." It predicts, nevertheless, that the speech will have "a salutary effect upon the country at large, and upon the South particularly." Specifically indorsing his stand on the subject of social equality the Indianapolis *Freeman* says: "Unless colored people are prepared to spend valuable time and energy uselessly, it is just as well that they cease fighting for the impossible and strive for the things that are attainable and really of some substantial consequence." This view is shared by Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, who is quoted as saying that he had never met a leader of his race who advocated social equality, and that he did not desire or advocate it.

The President's Birmingham speech "is being criticized by the colored people because it promises the colored race too little, and by the white people because it promises too much," notes

(See next Card)

Race Problem—1921 President Harding's Speech (Discussions)

United States

## GOVERNOR HARDWICK TO PRESIDENT HARDING.

Atlanta Independent 11/3/21

At the Macon fair last week our Governor took occasion to indirectly reply to certain statements with reference to the race question accredited to the President in his Birmingham speech. Among the things said by our distinguished Governor in reply to our distinguished President was as follows:

"Nowhere on the face of the earth are the white man and the black man more harmonious than in Georia and in the south. There is no spot on this globe where it is better for a good negro to live than in Georgia; but it is a bad place for a bad negro to try to live. And I'm glad it is so, for if otherwise, our good negroes might turn bad. In the South—this part of the south—our people do not need any foreign instructions on how to deal with and handle the negro."

The Independent quite agrees with the sentiment expressed by our distinguished Governor that there is no better place on earth for good black men and good white men to live together in harmony than Georgia, and that there is no worse place for a bad Negro to try to live, but we would like to add in the way of asking our Governor this question: Would he not amend his statement by saying that there is no worse place under the sun where it is worse for both the bad Negro and the bad white man to try to lieve? The governor would have risen to the full height of statesmanship had his statement read like this—"There is no place on earth where it is better for good white men and good black men to live together in harmony, and there is no worse place on earth for bad white men and bad Negroes to try to live than Georgia." The Independent believes that it voices the sentiment of the Governor in making this amendment.

In conclusion, the Independent desires to say for the benefit of the President, our Governor and all other white men who raise the race question, that there is no such thing and there never will be any such thing as social equality; that the world as yet has never seen even race equality, much less social equality among the races, and the man who raises the question of social equality is at least insincere and inclined to demagogy. It is an effort to play to the galleries, mislead the people and kindle the fires of race friction.

The question of social equality is a white man's nightmare. It is his delusion. No Negro dreams of it. No Negro would have it. There are social functions among white people in this country to which neither our President nor the Governor would be invited if it were not for their official positions; and when they are invited, it is not the man that is recognized, but the high and distinguished office to which the people have chosen them. And a social affront would not be an insult to the individual or man, but to the dignity of our country or state.

So let the President, the Governor and all other white people cut out the bugbear of social equality. No Negro wants it and no white man will have it. What the Negro wants is what the President suggested, an equality of economic, industrial and political privileges. He wants the right unfettered to earn his bread and butter. He wants no door shut against him in which he can make an honest dollar, and the untrammelled and unintimidated right to cast one ballot and have it fairly and honestly counted for the candidate or measure for which he cast it. No more and no less do we want—and no more and no less will satisfy.

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## THE RACE QUESTION.

Commercial Appeal 11/3/21 Memphis Tenn.

Walthall, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

It is about 1[illegible] miles, the way the crow flies, from my local habitation to Memphis. But if I had the arms of Briarius, with length like their number, I would extend to Mr. John W. Farley of that beautiful city as many cordial handshakes in appreciation of his communication in last Saturday's Commercial Appeal, headed "Harding and the Negro." I dare say he is a decent and patriotic Republican, which he has a right to be. He views the subject from the angle of race instinct, which was imputed to mankind, coming down from the very "throne of the invisible" in the beginning.

It is impossible, by any manner of legislation, to contravene the purposes of Gehovah in his arrangement and economy of the universe. It makes no difference whether the negro sprang from Cain, descended from Ham or was numbered in the plurality of races in the creation, he is far down the scale from the Caucasian, who from inherent intuition never has and never will consent to domination or participation of the negro or intervening races, Maylays, Mongolians or Indians, in civil government. From political equality the next step is social equality, then intermarriage of the races, terminating in miscegenation, for which all the people on the earth, save one family only, were swept from existence on the face of creation. If the good Lord took that view of the situation the Caucasian race, created in His "likeness and image," have an omnipotent exemplar and are amply justified in repudiating a partnership with the lower races in political policies.

But stepping down from ethnology to actual existing conditions, the chief magistrate of a great republic like the United States of America should never say or do anything without a good and sufficient reason. Evidently the president had a purpose in delivering his lecture, last week, to a large and intelligent audience, in Dixie, upon a subject about which he knows but little if anything, and with which that audience is fully familiar. Did he think he was laying the foundation for the dismemberment of the "solid south"? Migh as well try to extinguish a fire by a dash of kerosene oil, and we are reminded of the Dutchman trying to learn the English language, who, when he got to the point of despair, broke out in doggerel, thus:

"Mine Gott, mine Gott, vat languache dot!
I can not English sprache;
For chust so sure I schpeak him right,
By dams, I gets mischtake."

For the negro, as he becomes more enlightened, realizes that the southern people are his best and only friends. All that is being done for his uplift and improvement is by white people of the south. There are negro schools on almost every hilltop and in every vale in Dixie, paid for and supported by the white people there. The negro is indifferent as to the elective franchise, and disfranchises himself by failure to comply with constitutional provisions, as many white people do. The southern people know the negro's impulses, tendencies and inclinations, and can exercise influence over him, better than any "son of a gun from Boston, who, for a pretense, makes long prayers." This being true, the negro would easily be induced to fall into line with the white people, his realized friends, vote Democratic and made the south more solid. As the negro improves in intelligence he sees more clearly that those northern fanatics "make broad their phylacteries" and are negropholists for negro votes only. Who has ever heard one of these fanatics, weeping and wailing over some southern white person who fails to vote by his delinquency and indifference? When the president came down into this fair land he was our guest and the people strewed flowers in his pathway, according to traditional southern hospitality. They were sincere and were astounded when he began to give them homilies about their own local affairs. When he learns to carry himself as a guest we will be glad to see him back with us. Such demeanor as that in which he indulged, on the part of an ordinary Yankee, would pass unnoticed, but by the highest official of the land gives us pause. O, tempora! O, mores!"

SAM COOKE.

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# HARDING'S RACE

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# VIEWS ARE HIT BY HARRISON

### Mississippi Senator Regards the President's Speech at Birminghaw as Unfortunate

The Atlanta Georgian

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—President Harding's speech on the race question at Birmingham Wednesday was described as "unfortunate" by Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, in a statement which he issued Thursday.

10/28/21

Harrison's statement declared that the President's speech advocating political and economic equality for the negro put forth a theory that "is impracticable, unjust and destructive of the best ideals of America."

"The President's speech was unfortunate, but to have made it in the heart of the South where, in some States, the negro population predominates, was unfortunate in the extreme," Harrison's statement declared.

"Of course, every rational being desires to see the negro protected in his life, liberty and property. I believe in giving him every right under the law to which he is entitled, but to encourage the negro who in some States, as in my own, exceeds the white population, to strive through every political avenue to be placed upon equality with the whites, is a blow to the white civilization of this country that will take years to combat.

"The President is right in that the race question is a national one and not confined to any one section and his unfortunate and mischievous utterance on the subject will be deprecated by people in every section of the country who believe in the preservation of white civilization."

"I applaud the President's speech," Senator Calder (Republican), New York, said. "It was a timely speech, and right to the point. I heartily endorse the President's views that the negroes should have political equality, even if it enables them to elect colored men to the United States Senate."

Senator Hitchcock (Democrat), of Nebraska, said, "all these racial questions grow out of popular feeling. I think the President is right in principle, but I don't believe the race question can be solved by argument."

Senator Watson (Democrat), of Georgia, said, "If the published reports of the President's speech at Birmingham are correct, I very much regret that he made it. The negro question is peculiarly a Southern one, therefore, local in its nature."

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## The Negro and the South.

NEW YORK HERALD
NOVEMBER 9, 1921

### Mr. Harding's Speech Criticised by a Citizen of Georgia.

TO THE NEW YORK HERALD: In his Birmingham speech the President said: "The negro must and should be given economic and political equality, but social equality could never be."

It ought to be clear to the average American, regardless of the section of the country to which he belongs, how impossible it would be to share the responsibilities of government with negroes without also sharing social equality with them.

President Harding holds the view that the South should afford better educational facilities for the negroes in order that they may remain in the South to cultivate the fields. The answer to that is simple: Where the negro has any education worth speaking of he seeks other employment than working in the fields.

Owing to the presence of a large negro population the conditions prevailing in the South are widely different from those existing in other parts of the country. The truth of this statement is made plain when we read daily of the crimes committed by negroes all over the South. Even at the present time here in Atlanta holdups, robberies and murders are committed daily by daring negro criminals. How much more would negro crime sweep the South if negroes ran the government and white people had to depend on negro police, negro jurors, negro judges or negro anybody else to get justice and protection from their daring crimes!

That part of President Harding's speech advocating negro political equality has left a very unfavorable impression on his hearers and readers in the South. The one living fact all white Americans, regardless of section or party, should forever bear in mind is that the Government of the United States was founded by white men and should forever remain in the hands of white men and not in the hands of negroes.

Look at the riots in Omaha and the burning of the magnificent court house there by a mob to get a negro who committed an unspeakable crime against humanity. Then picture the same condition in a more intensified degree as it exists in the South, then ask the State of Nebraska to share the State government with criminals of such a type.

The best opinion and thought in the South seriously differs with President Harding in his views on negro political equality in the South. The South owes it as a duty to itself and to future generations to come to uphold white supremacy in the South, as against being submerged by an inferior black race.

SOUTHERNER.

ATLANTA, Ga., November 6.

# KELLY MILLER IN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT DEFENDS RACE

## Denies That Race Difference is Fundamental, Eternal and Inescapable

Washington Tribune 12/17/21

In an open letter to President Warren G. Harding challenging the president's theories and ideas expressed in his Birmingham speech, Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University sets forth in a plain, dignified, yet forceful manner, the falacies, hypocricy and false premises of the President's speech.

Among the many pointed and convincing arguments advanced by Prof. Miller, he says:

"The motive which prompted this bold and courageous utterance on your part has given rise to much speculation. Some have been disposed to consider its timeliness with reference to the Disarmament Conference as a great issue of race which lies in the background of the international gathering now sitting in the city of Washington.

"The race problem in America casts a shadow of suspicion upon the claims of democracy as the ideal form of government.

"Candor compels me to say, Mr. President, speaking deliberately on behalf of the thoughtful element of the Negro race, that your platform based upon the assertion of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences' of race is calculated, in the long run, to do the Negro as great harm as the Taney dictum [The Negro has no rights which the white man was bound to respect] would have done, had not the aroused conscience of the nation negatived the interpretation which the author placed upon it.

* * *

"From the Negro's point of view you have attempted to build a superstructure of righteousness upon a fallacious foundation. . . . . If you write at top of the page the declared and accepted doctrine of 'fundamental, inescapable, and eternal differences of race.' it then makes no difference what you may write underneath, the Negro would be degraded into an inferior caste which would render any form of equality impossible. The Negro's claim to political and civil equality does not rest upon any condition or concession, but grows out of his inalienable right as a human being and his guaranteed rights as an American citizen. . . . . The Negro, if he would, cannot barter away his rights, or hypothecate them upon the acceptance or rejection of any alleged theory of difference of race.

* * *

"The general drift of opinion, however, on part of the Negro press that has taken pains to give careful thought and analysis to the question, is that any form of equality will be impossible if your hypothesis becomes generally accepted. The Negro would thus sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, with no assurance that he will receive the pottage.

* * *

"President Roosevelt, in his celebrated letter to a Southern publicist, declared that he would not shut the door of hope in the Negro's face. Your policy, Mr. President, contrary to your purpose would latch, lock and bolt it to all eternity.

* * *

"I think that no biologist or psychologist who has regard for his reputation would care to venture the opinion that race differences are inescapable and eternal.

In answer to the President's statement "race amalgamation there cannot be," Prof. Miller says:

"Writing in the June number of the 'Yale Review,' Professor Boas closes an illuminating article on 'The Problem of the American Negro' with these words: 'Thus, it would seem, that man being what he is, the Negro problem will not disappear in America until the Negro blood has been so diluted that it can no longer be recognized, just as anti-Semitism, until the last vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared."

"Without intending to do so, you have adopted the dogma of every proslavery advocate and of every present day reactionary on the question of human rights. On this point you are in perfect accord with the late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, and Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., author of 'The Clansman. This unintentional agreement, I am sure, will prove an uncomfortable one. The question of essential difference of race is one on which there are not sufficient scientific data to base any conclusion of value. The few psychologic tests already made are inconclusive.

* * *

"It is indeed disappointing to find a President of the United States at the end of the World War for democracy reverting to the undemocratic doctrine which has always been relied on to justify man's inhumanity to man.

"The Negro finds himself in a segregated social world. He is making the best he can of this situation. He is not clamoring for so-called social equality, and would be wholly unable to assert his claim even if he were clamorous. But surely it cannot be expected that the race will meet in solemn conclave and affirm its belief in and acceptance of 'fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences.' This would justify the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan whose avowed purpose is to help the Almighty carry out his plan of everlasting white supremacy.

* * *

"Your doctrine of eternal difference is contrary to the scientfic, ethical and social tendencies of the age. The human race is moving toward unity, not diversity. The ancient barriers of caste, religion and race are being thrown down by the onward sweep of cosmic forces. . . . . No longer can any race or nation expect to hold its peculiar culture in airtight compartments.

* * *

"Your audience must have received your remarks about the impossibility of amalgamation with a measure of amusement mixed with amazement. A glance over the colored section of your audience would have convinced you that amalgamation is not a theory but a fact. No discerning eye was keen enough to tell where the white strain left off and the Negro began. In face of these stubborn facts, your statement is hard to understand. According to the 13th Census, there were over 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This albescent contingency of the Negro race was not produced by the semi-tropical climate of the Southland, as Southern white men know full well. No wonder your audience received this deliverance in silence. It is idle for white men to prate about race purity while they practice race promiscuity. There is need of plain speaking on this point. . . . The white man has never failed to mingle his blood with the darker races wherever he has met them in all the ends of the earth. According to President Roosevelt, Bravilian statesmen are convinced that their method of benevolent amalgamation is a more effective solvent of the race problem than the Anglo-Saxon policy of social segregation. In South Africa a million and a half Europeans have alrealy produced one-half their number of mulattoes.

* * *

"You urge the Negro not to imitate the white man, but to set up his own racial ideals. . . . . The Negro uses the same language, reads the same books, admires the same art, understands the same science, accepts the same standard of ethics and practices the same religion. . . . . Whatever racial aims or ideals he might have developed if left in his native country have been destroyed by transplantation and by imitation of his captors. Fred Douglass used to say there is none of the banana in me. . . . The Anglo-Saxon professes to imiate Jesus, Saviour of the World, although he may affect to despise the idiosyncrasies and race peculiarities of the Jew. It is not the race, but the ideal manifested by the individual.

* * *

"It would be pleasing to suppose that the Negro could get economic equality on the basis that you have laid down but the hope is vain. Every caste system in the world is based on vocation. Social stratification rests upon employment. The Negro in Washington is not permitted to operate a street car as a motorman, not because of his lack of ability to do so, but by reason of his race alone. Any man who can run an automobile in the upon streets where there are no tracks can surely guide a street car which moves along fixed grooves. This single citation is sufficient to show that you cannot have democracy in industry as long as you recognize inescapable difference of race."

Race Problem - 1921 President Hardings Speech (Editorials)

United States

# THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN BIRMINGHAM

Atlanta Georgian 10/27/21

THE address of President Harding, delivered in Birmingham on Wednesday, undoubtedly will attract a great deal of attention throughout the nation. Much of the address is of peculiar interest to the South, of course, and undoubtedly will be made the subject of much comment.

The President's tribute to the South and its honorable history, his evident appreciation and understanding of what so great a Southern city as Birmingham means in the South and of the South; his optimistic and patriotic utterances as to the duty of all the people to work for the advancement of American ideals and interests, his stressing of the genuine worthwhileness of labor and the far-flung necessity of education—those things were all well said, manly, American, fine.

The President's utterances upon the race question, not only from the standpoint of the South but more particularly, perhaps, from the standpoint of the entire nation, were far and away, of course, the portions of his address that will be read with the keenest interest and given more lasting consideration. Said in the best of temper, as coming from the President of all the people, if read and considered carefully and conscientiously by the people of the nation—North, East, South and West—they should prove helpful.

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The President says:

**"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference."**

There will be no difficulty whatever about thorough-going agreement here.

The President is right. There can be no such thing as social equality between the whites and the blacks in this nation.

When the President talks of "political opportunity" for the negro, he will find—as he doubtless knows good and well—that he is treading on somewhat difficult ground.

The people of the South are not sufficiently removed from the days of Reconstruction, for one thing, to view a suggestion of political opportunity for the negro with any great degree of enthusiasm. The mistakes and misdoings of the federal government of that dark day and time for the South, thrusting, as it did, upon the South an intolerable condition, have not been forgotten by the South. Whatever degree of political "right" is granted to the negro in the South will be granted only after the negro has proven himself thoroughly capable of employing it with intelligence.

However, since we are agreed that the best of whatever comes to the negro must come of a lofty, intelligent and patriotic understanding of American ideals upon his part—then whatever comes to him of political advantage and opportunity will come to him that way, and that way only.

The negro has not been "robbed of his political rights" in the South, as a matter of fact. He still may vote; but community voting has been made difficult. The fact, however, that the negro does vote in the South today in considerably larger measure than he did twenty years ago, should encourage him to hope that further privileges in that direction may be granted him.

In the last bond election in Atlanta a great many negroes registered and voted. There are many counties in Georgia where negroes of proven integrity and intelligence not only are permitted to vote, but actually encouraged to. That should indicate progress to his mind.

We gather from his address that the President thinks the negro should be accorded fair and square treatment in the South, the East, the West and the North—everywhere. That his conditions of living should be made better; that he should be given better educational advantages; that he should be better equipped to direct his own energies, intelligently; that, while separated and segregated as a race on the trains, for instance, conditions accorded him there should be ample and decent—and The Georgian thinks that is right.

The President's contention that the negro is a valuable and vital asset to the South, that the negro is very necessary to the progress and prosperity of the South, is quite true. The South may avail itself to the maximum of this asset by equipping it for suitable service and citizenship—and that is right, too.

What the President has to say in this matter, if read and considered intelligently, will be found in the main to be thoroughly manly and American.

His remarks will not be so construed by some people, of course. A good deal of loose thinking and a good deal of loose talking probably will be indulged in in respect of his Birmingham address. But, going to the very heart and fundamentals of it, there will be found very little that Americans of fair and open minds may not pretty well get together on.

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The President is Atlanta's guest today. The Georgian assures him that he is most cordially welcome.

The people of this city and section are loyal and patriotic. They dearly love their country and its flag. They respect its institutions; they respect the presidency.

They recognize in Warren G. Harding an able, warm-hearted, kind, straight-thinking President. In the main, they are not of the same political faith as the President; but when it comes to love of country, they are one with him.

The Georgian trusts the President's visit to the South may be marked only by the most pleasant and inspiring of incidents.

We trust he will carry back to Washington City only the sweetest and most optimistic recollections of these people.

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# PRESIDENT HARDING SCORES

Norfolk Journal & Guide 11/5/21

President Harding's discussion of the race question during his speech at the Birmingham Semi-Centennial Celebration last week was remarkable for its force and candor. It struck the country with such force that it was sometime before certain elements of the body politic had sufficiently recovered their balance to comment upon what the President said.

The spectacle of a President that was thought to favor the "let-well-enough-alone" policy of the country, standing in the very heart of the South and proclaiming broader economic, political and educational opportunities for the Negro, was too rare and revolutionary to be comprehended. Yet the reaction from it was only mild. Radicals like Senators Pat Harrison of Mississippi and Tom Watson of Georgia rushed into print with criticisms of the President's speech, but more conservative Southern members of Congress have had little to say. As a whole President Harding's utterances were received with enthusiasm in the North, East and West, and there is every reason to believe that he spoke the sentiments of thousands of white Southerners. The South as a whole is not disposed to hold any deserving member of the Negro race back politically, economically and educationally. The South as a whole, both black and white, agree as to racial separation in things purely social, and the President need not have stressed his "social equality" point, except to make himself fully understood.

President Harding must be commended for the courage and frankness with which he expressed his convictions. The speech is sure to have a salutary affect upon the country at large, and upon the South particularly in the adjustment of the delicate problems of race relations.

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# PRESIDENT HARDING'S PLEA FOR A NEW SOUTH

Norfolk Journal & Guide 11/12/21

Take it all in all, the Birmingham address of President Harding was by far the most remarkable plea for political, economic and educational justice for all of the people of the South that has been delivered since the epoch-making address of Dr. Booker T. Washington, at the Atlanta Exposition, in 1897. Indeed, there are many points of similarity in the treatment of the whole subject by the two men, notable in that both insisted upon the necessity for the racial and social development of each race group along its own lines. How far this can be expected of two race groups, speaking the same language, professing the same religious dogmas and pursuing identical lines of industry and business, remains to be seen.

We feel about it as we felt when Dr. Washington enunciated the doctrine, and drew down on his head the anathemas of the hot heads of the times, while the white South applauded him to the echo; we feel that it is a question that will take care of itself, as far as Afro-Americans are concerned, and that we should not worry about it. The spiritual power that fetched the African here, to become a part of the new and better race and Nation, will see to it that the original plan shall be worked out with us as with the other alien race groups of the population, whom President Harding considered it natural and proper should fuse into the National life and become all-American with the passing of the years. The outcome of it is a matter which we cannot determine by legislation or public opinion; it is governed by the iron law of creating new races by the crossing of many races.

President Harding's plea for breaking up of the white Democratic vote and the black Republican vote of the South, for the best interests of both and of the country, should appeal to all the people of the South as the best thing to be done.

The President's statement of the possible industrial condition which will be produced for the South by the working of existing immigration laws, making the native labor force indispensable to the South, while other sections of the country will be seeking to draw upon it, as it did when war labor was in demand and the Migrant movement was in full swing, the foreign labor supply being almost entirely cut off—the President's statement of the importance to the South of its Negro labor supply, and the wisdom of treating it fairly, should command the sober thought of the business men of the South.

Certainly we need more and better education and wiser leadership as the result of it; and we need it not only for the colored but for the white people of the South. The President made no mistake in emphasizing that point, even if he did make the Negro the goat of it; he stated the needs of the whites with equal force without saying so.

We all desire a broader, more educated, more humane, a more Christian New South. Let us all work for what we want.

# HARDING'S SPEECH

Afro American 10/28/21
Baltimore Maryland

As forecast in last week's AFRO-AMERICAN, President Hardings' most important utterance to the Birmingham celebration Wednesday was on the race problem. The President's address was delivered before 35,000 persons, one-third of whom were white. Thousands of colored people cheered the President's words, while whites for the most part were silent.

The President's assertion that thousands of colored men fought just as patriotic as did white men in the World War was greeted with a rousing cheer from the colored section. They were silent, however, as he said, "I wish that both the traditions of a solidly Democratic South and the solidly Republican black race might be broken up."

Other important utterances made by the President were,

Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality.

**I would say, let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.**

I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. There must be education among the colored people, as it will enable them to develop their own leaders.

This is the boldest speech ever made by a President in the South. Leaders thruout the country are not in a hurry to express an opinion about it. It is felt everywhere that no President has ever before championed so strongly the right of colored people to vote, to have decent schools and to have equal opportunities to work.

# THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL AND PRESIDENT HARDING

Birmingham Reporter 10/29/21
Ala.

Birmingham is liver this week than at any time during its history. The celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary is now in progress. The program started Monday and the activities have grown more attractive every day during the week. Persons from all sections of Alabama, men, women and children are attending. Every effort is made to entertain our special guests and show them, as well as our own home folks, the wonderful progress made within 50 years. Our daily papers are giving the history of Birmingham in their special editions, and pamphlets and boks are published showing the unequalled progress, the untouched resources and what is possible for this district in the future.

The occasion has been wonderfully carried out and while the time has been spent in a gay and pleasure-like fashion, it offers to the citizenry a study that can but bring inspiration and aspiration, confidence and a fuller purpose in the hearts and minds of every Birmingham man, woman and child. That the founders of this great city planned well, and suffered much is without question or argument; and that they have left for this and future generations a heritage of unquestionable manhood, citizenship, race and sectional pride is also true and is marked in the face of every piece of literature and painted on every street, avenue, park and section of greater Birmingham.

There is no city in the Southland or elsewhere that has made the marvelous achievement as has our city. It is all inspiring and offers a guide for future steps in which we all may be safe, prosperous and helpful.

No doubt the climax of events during this week of pleasure, rejoicing and cordial citizen contact, was the day given to the presence of President Warren G. Harding, who reached Birmingham Wednesday morning, October 26th, and had a full day in speech-making and other exercises provided for him and his party. President Harding delivered several short addresses, but the main address was at the Woodrow Wilson Park when several thousand people, white and black, heard his pronouncements and his position on the often-discussed and greatly magnified, as well as mystified race question,—the American race question. The President was heard at a great advantage because of the intense interest centered in this question, and the desire of both races to know his solution and hear him utter it in the section where the question will be solved, if solved at all, and in a section where such a position should be known first-hand and from the man who represents, at this present, all sections of America and all peoples within its borders. The speech was of lofty thought, high christian ideals, and punctured with such liberal considerations that none could fail the meaning of the President or misconstrue a single sentence or word in his utterances. He went immediately to those points that have had so much debate in an effort to harmonize them and solve the question with a sense of justice to limited groups or a limited race, known as the American Negro. The President discussed that a change of attitude on the part of our section by our dominant forces is necessary and a more intelligent view and racial solidarity on the part of the blacks is also necessary, looking forward to the advancement of state, nation and country. He opposed the idea of conclave organizations in which certain propaganda is constantly used by the demagogue and political ward of our time. He was plain on the question of social equality, denouncing any form or idea of amalgamation of the races, and to this he received heavy applause from both sections of his hearers, white and black alike. He pleaded for a broader education, a more liberal consideration for the black man along these lines and an equal opportunity in the fields of industry and a fairer disposition to the fit and worthy elements of the blacks as regards political advancement. He pleaded for such education as would prepare Negroes for leadership within their own group and an education and consideration that would inspire confidence in country and a respect for the nation.

Mr. Harding's speech was free of politics and must have been written from inspiration, information and divine guidance. Some might disagree with his idea of the solution of the problem, but it is not reasonable to think that anyone could doubt his sincerity. He had nothing to gain politically in this view, and speaking as he did, one must believe him to be representing not only the country of which he is chief executive, but being moved by divine power, he represents the social spirit of Jesus Christ and pleads for such justice as neighbors should be satisfied to give. He breaks down the one thing that offers antagonism and counsels for the things that any honorable man might be willing to accept and any pust man would freely give.

**The speech exposed our section at many points, but a sensible and religious solution is offered, and if at this time Democracy is to be established in fact and worthy individuals wrapped up in black skin are really a part of this government and therefore are to share in this democracy, the solution will fall upon attentive ears and instead of having a demoralized and backward citizenship ours will be cheerful, helpful and progressive and all will profit from the fatherly doctrine of our chief executive—Warren G. Harding.**

# HARDING'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

N.Y. Dispatch
10/28/21

At Birmingham, Ala., President Harding made the keynote speech of the revised Republican party. Some phases of his speech are decidedly praise worthy as other phases are derogatory.

Harding is right of course in asking that all people of all groups have equal chances and opportunities to develop from an economic and political standpoint. That porton of his speech is not only just, but is minutely logical. Harding is confident as all right thinking people are that there can be no economic rights that will last, unless there are political rights to substantiate them.

The President shows however that he is in favor of colored Republicans in the South "following in behind white leadership." We think that all Republicans whether white, black, or anything else ought to be put on their own merits as Republicans and not be assigned a particular category in working out their destiny.

On the other hand it is plain that the President is unsound on "color." He thinks colored men should participate in affairs politically and economically but they should do so as white men direct. Harding might as well omitted his "Social Equality," remarks. No one is agitating that question In fact there is no question of Social Equality. Individuals arrange their own social affairs and no government under the Sun can force people's ideas on things socially.

We would finally commend the attitude of the President where he advises colored men not to vote the Republican ticket because their fathers voted it. But vote on issues as you see and believe them whether they be propagated be Republicans, Socialists or Democrats.

Race Problem - 1921.
United States.

President Harding's Speech at Birmingham, Ala. (Editorials)

## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN BIRMINGHAM

10/27/21
Atlanta Georgian

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There will be no difficulty whatever about thorough-going agreement here.

The President is right. There can be no such thing as social equality between the whites and the blacks in this nation.

When the President talks of "political opportunity" for the negro, he will find—as he doubtless knows good and well—that he is treading on somewhat difficult ground.

The people of the South are not sufficiently removed from the days of Reconstruction, for one thing, to view a suggestion of political opportunity for the negro with any great degree of enthusiasm. The mistakes and misdoings of the federal government of that dark day and time for the South, thrusting, as it did, upon the South an intolerable condition, have not been forgotten by the South. Whatever degree of political "right" is granted to the negro in the South will be granted only after the negro has proven himself thoroughly capable of employing it with intelligence.

However, since we are agreed that the best of whatever comes to the negro must come of a lofty, intelligent and patriotic understanding of American ideals upon his part—then whatever comes to him of political advantage and opportunity will come to him that way, and that way only.

The negro has not been "robbed of his political rights" in the South, as a matter of fact. He still may vote; but community voting has been made difficult. The fact, however, that the negro does vote in the South today in considerably larger measure than he did twenty years ago, should encourage him to hope that further privileges in that direction may be granted him.

In the last bond election in Atlanta a great many negroes registered and voted. There are many counties in Georgia where negroes of proven integrity and intelligence not only are permitted to vote, but actually encouraged to. That should indicate progress to his mind.

We gather from his address that the President thinks the negro should be accorded fair and square treatment in the South, the East, the West and the North—everywhere. That his conditions of living should be made better; that he should be given better educational advantages; that he should be better equipped to direct his own energies, intelligently; that, while separated and segregated as a race on the trains, for instance, conditions accorded him there should be ample and decent—and The Georgian thinks that is right.

The President's contention that the negro is a valuable and vital asset to the South, that the negro is very necessary to the progress and prosperity of the South, is quite true. The South may avail itself to the maximum of this asset by equipping it for suitable service and citizenship—and that is right, too.

What the President has to say in this matter, if read and considered intelligently, will be found in the main to be thoroughly manly and American.

His remarks will not be so construed by some people, of course. A good deal of loose thinking and a good deal of loose talking probably will be indulged in in respect of his Birmingham address. But, going to the very heart and fundamentals of it, there will be found very little that Americans of fair and open minds may not pretty well get together on.

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ORSICANA TEX SUN
OCTOBER 29, 1921

When President Harding advised the negroes against hoping or striving for social equality he was directing them in a right course, and a course that they must adopt if they would accomplish anything worth while for themselves as a race and at the same time wipe out race clashes. When he told them to strive for political recognition and equality in education and in the trades he planted a germ that is poisonous and that is likely to result in continued trouble between whites and blacks.

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BROOKLYN N Y TIMES
OCTOBER 27, 1921

### Harding on the Race Issue.

Not in the South alone, but throughout the country, attention will centre on that section of the Birmingham speech of President Harding that deals with the race issue. It is one that had its seed in slavery, and was for a long time local to the South, but unquestionably Mr. Harding is right in saying that it has spread over the entire country. He says "the World War brought us to a recognition of the fact that the race problem is national, rather than mere sectional." "There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the World War was marked by a great migration of colored people to the North and West. They were attracted by the demand for labor and the higher wages offered. The slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since." There is no man or woman who has not observed the increase of colored men in New York. In other cities the increase in the colored population has been marked also. Although the negroes are still most numerous in the South, there is no doubt that they have come to dwell in large numbers in many communities in which they were few in number prior to the war. They have been attracted by factory prices, educated in the schools of the South, they have come to look on life with a new view, and they expect and receive more of its rewards than they did formerly. Distinct in color and many characteristics from white citizens, they yet have common interests and common aspirations, and their service in the fighting line in the war has given to many of them the same patriotic conception that white citizens possess. Mr Harding expresses the belief that this fact will at once cause the South to realize its dependence industrially on the labor of the negro, and the othe sections of the country to modify thei opinions regarding the difficulties o a community in which two widely differing races are brought to live sid by side. The problem is one of al sections, and its solution requires th best intelligence of both races. Th President refers to Mr. Stoddard's book on "The Rising Tide of Color," and Mr. Lugard's article in the Edinborough Review, and says the problem is even wider than our own land, and our difficulties with it are but one phase of a question that concerns the whole world.

To merely state facts, or accept conclusions formed by ethnologists, would be of little help. Mr. Harding, however, contributes some views of his own, and they are clear-sighted and sensible. Accustomed to her own method of dealing with this problem, the South may fail to understand its broader significance, but undoubtedly it will grasp in some degree the meaning of Mr. Harding's suggestions. They do not imply what is called social equality. That does not exist, in the most democratic countries between persons of the same race. People form their own social groups independent of economic and political associations. Full citizenship in the political and economic sense for the negro as well as the white, President Harding would have accorded. Citizenship, "in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts regardless of race or color."

It may be hard to put this ideal in effect, but that will not discourage the intelligent of both races. The negro who lacks ability may find it difficult to understand that an economic discrimination is not directed against him because of his color; the white man may find it difficult to be just in matters in which one of his own race and one of another race are concerned. However, the effort should be made, and the aim should be just what Mr. Harding states it should be, if we are to have a real democratic-republican form of Government here and the purposes for which the Civil War was fought are to be carried out.

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### Pernicious Mischief.

Vardaman's Weekly
Jackson, Miss.

I have just finished reading President Harding's speech delivered at Birmingham last week. It was the most unfortunate deliverance that I have read since Woodrow Wilson told the negroes if they would join the army, buy bonds and go through the form of fighting, that he would see that their political rights would be respected, and all the privileges of citizenship vouchsafed to them after the war. Oct. 3/21

President Harding intended to do good by his speech, but really, it was the most pernicious utterance since his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, delivered himself of his negro equality stuff.

President Harding, unfortunately does not know anything about the race question. He does not know anything about the negro, his peculiarities, his likes and dislikes, and the extremes to which he will go to satisfy his beastly instincts. President Harding cannot "tolerate social equality," and yet he would insist on vouchsafing to the negro the recognition of all his political privileges. I would think that a man who has lived as long in the world as President Harding would know that you cannot respect the negroes' political rights without admitting to him social equality. The negro will see that you do that. As a matter of fact, you could grant to the negro every political privilege that his heart might wish and withhold from him *entree* to your home, and he would destroy you and then acquit your murderer by a negro jury.

Lincoln had the right conception of it when he said in his debate with Mr. Douglas: "I am not advocating social or political equality. I am not trying to make voters and jurors of the negroes. I realize that there is a physical difference, which renders it impossible for the negro to remain in the same country on terms of social or political equality with the white man, and while they do remain here there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any one else, am in favor of assigning the position of superior to the white man."

President Harding knows nothing of the negro's nature. He seems to have read with his eyes closed the history of the negro, and he has made a speech in the South which will be a trouble breeder long after he has passed from the stage of action.

I wish our northern friends would quit coming to the South to make speeches until they learn some sense about the subject about which they propose to talk. When I was in Washington last spring I suggested to President Harding that he read three books, and gave him the name of "The Passing of a Great Race," by Madison Grant of New York, "The Rising Tide of Color" by Lothrop Stoddard, and "The Color Line" by Professor Benjamin Smith of Tulane University. I told him if he would read these books understandingly and carefully he would have authority to speak on the race question intelligently. I notice that he refers to Stoddard's book, but not to the others in his recent speech.

The race problem in the South is the most difficult problem the white man has to solve. The white men of the South are the only men who understand this problem and a Northern man almost always make a mistake when they come South and undertake to discuss it. They usually talk out of the depth of ignorance or misinformation.

President Harding has shown that he knows absolutely nothing about the negro, and if he should undertake to put his ignorance into law, he will make mischief. The white people are not going to tolerate anything like political or social equality with the negroes in the South. If necessary to avoid it they will exterminate the negro race. President Harding or any other man in office or out of office cannot force his opinions on the Southern white people, and it is criminally foolish for him to try it. Woodrow Wilson could do it during the war when he had the people under his thumb and authority to make them do what he wanted them to do, but the war is over now, and President Harding cannot do it. I do not think he has any desire to do in time of peace what Wilson criminally did in time of war. The negroes will take good care of themselves in proportion that they ignore the advice of President Harding and forget the foolish promises that Wilson made to them. There are no men in the South who understand the situation better than the negroes themselves. So, my advice to the negroes, is to go and do what he knows the white man of the South will tolerate, and leave undone studiously the things the white men of the South disapprove.

I hope the next time President Harding wants to come south he will select a new subject for discussion if he is coming on a speaking tour. I know the purposes of President Harding are good, and I am sure he does not care to do anything that will foment strife or cause trouble, and for that reason I am sorry he came to Birmingham the other day.

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## DISCOURTESY TO MR. HARDING

Last week when he spoke in Atlanta President Harding was repeatedly interrupted and annoyed by jeering and other noises in the crowd that gathered in a public square to hear his address. The people were evidently dissatisfied with the President's utterances in Birmingham the day before on the negro question.

WINSTON-SALEM N C JOURNAL
NOVEMBER 1, 1921

This is a shameful and reprehensible incident to occur in a city so well known as Atlanta and one that will be taken in other sections as typical of the respect the South has for the Presidency, regardless of the fact that in Birmingham, where the issue was aired, the crowd greeted Mr. Harding with no such response. Negroes cheered wildly but whites remained silent.

Some of the views of the President on this question may be impossible of realization but that he is sincere in them and bears no malice to the South is unquestionable. There was no justification whatever for the rowdyism in Atlanta. It was disgraceful to that city.

The Presidency of itself, regardless of the incumbent, is entitled to the highest respect of citizens, whatever their politics. When they insult Mr. Harding they insult the Government and law-abiding and respectful citizens.

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## PRESIDENT HARDING SUBJECTED TO UNJUST ATTACKS.

Birmingham Ala. Reporter 11/5/21

Hasty and ill-considered criticisms have been made of President Harding's speech in Birmingham on the race question. The Age-Herald does not agree with southern members of Congress and others in Washington who have attacked Mr. Harding's motives and accused him of trying to create trouble between the white and colored people of the South.

Some of the strongest denunciations came from persons who had evidently not read the President's address and based their conclusions on hearsay or misleading press reports of the way in which it was received here.

As a result of trying to make a mountain out of a mole hill and to create a sensation where there was none, the President is charged with taking advantage of the South's hospitality to "play politics" and attempting to lay a predicate for Negro domination over the white people. Only a wilful distortion of his language, as printed in the newspapers of the country, could lead to any such foolish assumption.

Mr. Harding expressed views in his Birmingham speech that have been emphasized time and again by southern newspapers and leaders of both races. He expressly stated that he did not advocate race amalgamation or social equality, although some of the more excitable brethren have jumped to that conclusion and have given an illustration of old-fashioned southern hysteria.—Birmingham Age-Herald, October 29, 1921.

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## HARDING ON RACE QUESTION.

GADSDEN ALA. JOURNAL
OCTOBER 27, 1921

On his first trip into the South as president, Warren G. Harding has proved a disappointment. His speech at Birmingham Wednesday dealing with the race question was ill timed and showed a lack of tact not expected in a man of Harding's calibre.

In urging the southern white man to give more attention to the welfare of the colored race, the president simply was voicing what has been in the mind of that southern white man for years. But the president should have stopped there.

Mr. Harding was addressing a great audience, one-third of which was colored. Wherefore, his declaration: "I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man from voting when he is unfit to vote," was misunderstood by a majority of both races. On the one hand, the white man believed he was urging universal political equality for the negro. On the other, the negro portion of the audience hailed the president as one who would give them the vote at once, for each, of course, felt that he was qualified. Wherefore, the negroes cheered while the whites maintained stony silence.

"I wish," continued the president, "that both the tradition of a democratic solid South and the tradition of a solidly republican black race might be broken up." And yet, his very speech was serving to make more solid the lines of both the "democratic solid South" and the "solidly republican black race."

It was simply another instance of a man endeavoring to give advice on a subject with which he is not familiar. We must give President Harding credit for being sincere in his utterances, but we consider him not qualified to counsel the southern white man on the race question. The South is working out its own problem in its own way. The relations between the races in the South are much better than in the North. They will continue to be so if President Harding and some other misguided outsiders will just permit the South to handle the proposition in its own way.

Race Problem - 1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials)

United States

# STATE PRESS COMMENT

## HATTIESBURG MISS AMERICAN
## NOVEMBER 2, 1921

### Mississippi Won't Stand for It.

Ever since the day he was inaugurated, President Harding has been trying to win the South over to his Republican ideas. In several of the Southern states, Mississippi being one of them, new Republican parties have been organized of late, in which it has been announced the negro would be allowed to vote, but that there his activity would cease, and that white members would do the office holding should the time ever come when Mississippi so far forgot herself to elect Republicans to office.

It was claimed that these organizations had the endorsement of President Harding.

But if he gave his endorsement to such organizations with such purposes, he certainly forgot himself in his Birmingham speech in which he championed the negro's cause, and insisted that he be ~~given~~ every equality with the white, but at the same time cautioning him that he need not aspire to social equality, as that was impossible.

In other words, President Harding would have the negro man given the same right to vote and hold office as the white man, which would mean in a state like Mississippi, where the negro population is in excess of the white, that conditions of reconstruction days would reappear, and the "bottom rail be on top," with the negro and his white political associates, a few of whom are already "nibbling," filling the offices, making the laws and applying them to the white man as they see fit.

The South tried that once when held down by federal bayonets until conditions became intolerable, when a manhood of which she is proud, arose in its might, threw off the yoke of the negro and his more infamous white there that this was a white man's country to be ruled by white men, and all the speeches that President Harding may make during the remainder of his life and all of the trading, trafficking and promises of offices will not change this situation in the South, and especially in Mississippi.

The South is willing that the negro should have all the rights that he is entitled to under the law; it has provided for his education and industrial development, and is not only willing but anxious to continue to promote his welfare along these lines; it is willing to aid the negro in the procuring of homes, schools and churches, that his material and moral welfare may be advanced; it is willing to aid him in providing for himself and family by selling him lands on credit and advancing him cash or supplies with which to make a crop; it is willing to aid him in every way posible, and is anxious to live with him on terms of peace and friendship—but not at the price of social equality or political supremacy.

Mr. Harding may have thought he was doing both the whites and blacks of the South a favor by giving them gratuitous advice, but the south is capable of taking care of itself.

There is no race question in the South except that created by intermeddlers—men who live north of the Mason and Dixon line and have little conception of negro character—men like Mr. Harding, who may be willing to live under negro government, or at least force others to do so.

The whites and negroes of the South understand each other, and if left alone will live in peace and harmony. The negro knows his friends, and when in need of aid invariably seeks out a Southern man to "give him a lift," but politically he is willing to take the advice of those who have no interest in his welfare except what his voting strength will bring.

Senator John Sharp Williams, who perhaps has had as much experience with negroes as any other man in the country, and who is as highly regarded by them, spoke the sentiment of the South, when he said:

"I endorse the president's statement that there should be absolute separation of the races. There must be, and I am glad the president spoke so definitely and plainly. I am in favor and always have been of giving the negro absolute equality before the law for the protection of his property, his life, his limb. He should have every right that the laws gives and there should be no curtailment of that. Beyond that I am not willing that he should have political rights, social rights, or any other rights except those he is entitled to before the law."

Senator Thomas Heflin of Alabama, in commenting on the speech, said that "God Almighty had created a difference between the negro and the white man, and there was no Republican under the sun who could improve upon the work of God."

As Senator Harrison says, the "President's speech was unfortunate, but to have made it in the heart of the South, in some states of which the negro population predominates, was unfortunate in the extreme."

Mr. Harding cannot be blamed for wanting to "break the solid South," but if he hopes to do so by elevating the negro over the white man, politically or otherwise, he may rest assured that the South will vote in the future as it has in the past—for the continuation of white supremacy.—Jackson Clarion-Ledger.

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## BUFFALO N Y EXPRESS
## OCTOBER 28, 1921

### SOUTH HEARS THE TRUTH.

White Birmingham probably raged and fumed because it had to listen to President Harding's speech in the presence of black Birmingham, which though physically separated, could see and hear both the President and the representatives of the dominant race.

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality," said the President. "Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference."

Negroes do not want social equality, though the white South, for purposes of its own, continues to assert that they ~~do.~~ Negroes want what they are entitled to—~~political~~ and economic equality.

"Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race," added the President. "I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregation, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in Southern states, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment."

The negro has an excess of race pride. He is, if anything, too color-conscious.

"There must be education among the colored people," continued Mr. Harding, "as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny; and important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole."

The negro race already has developed such leaders in Booker T. Washington and his successors.

And this wsa good advice: "It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the processes of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section."

And this: "It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder, manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable."

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## TROY N. Y. RECORD
## OCTOBER 27, 1921

### RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO.

President Harding's speech yesterday at the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of Birmingham, Ala., was a sane exposition of the so-called race problem in this country. The keynote of his address was the right of the American negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages based on a pride of race but never on an aspiration for social equality.

Neither race ought to have any occasion to quarrel with such a statement. As an American citizen the negro is rightfully privileged to enjoy the same political, economic and educational advantages that the white man has. If these are denied to him because of racial prejudice or animosity, the negro is not receiving a square deal, and in proportion the country suffers because of the consequent deterioration of a part of its population.

Socially the gap between the blacks and the whites is eternal. It ought not to be crossed, and it cannot be crossed without both races suffering. The same principle applies to the relationship of the white race to the Mongolians. The Japanese, for example, are sensitively irritated that the whites persist in drawing a distinct social division between the two races, yet it is not so much the whites that draw the distinction as it is that Nature has created racial distinctions and divisions.

The great difficulty is to maintain the principle of racial distinction without becoming prejudiced against the negro in matters other than social. That has been the curse of the South, and lately it has invaded the North and West. The war occasioned negro migration northward and westward, and wherever there is a large negro element there seems to be an inevitable clash. That is partly because the whites treat the negroes not only as not being on a social equality with themselves but as politically, economically and educationally inferior.

Such a confusion of viewpoint aggravates the entire problem, increasing rather than allaying race prejudice on both sides and militating against the more rapid and desired advancement of the colored race. Booker T. Washington constantly tried to impress upon the negro the fundamental virtues of truth, honesty and legitimate ambition to develop economically and intellectually. Such virtues need to be cultivated by all races, but they can be more successfully impressed upon the negro if the latter is given the fair deal that he ought to have as an American citizen and as a vital element of the American population. President Harding has invaded the "solid South" and spoken words of common sense in regard to the race problem. If his advice is taken, that problem will be more quickly solved and the two peoples will live together more amicably and successfully in the future than they have in the past.

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# THE PRESIDENT BRINGS THE RACE PROBLEM BEFORE THE NATION

ELSEWHERE in The Outlook we publish telegraphic messages from four leaders of Southern opinion on the subject of the President's Birmingham address. These four men are representative of the best in the South, both white and colored. Together with these telegrams we publish excerpts from editorials in three leading Southern papers.

That a Republican President, speaking

in Alabama upon the Negro question, should draw forth such commendation from Southern leaders of both races is in itself a heartening thing.

The President's speech has not only served to focus National opinion upon one of the greatest problems facing the United States, but it has also clarified the issues involved. We believe that as time goes on this fact will be recognized even more fully than it is at present.

The heart of the President's address is to be found most succinctly stated in the following passage. It begins with a quotation from an essay by Mr. F. D. Lugard which was published in a recent number of the "Edinburgh Review:"

> Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material.

Concerning this statement of Mr. Lugar 's the President says:

> Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent ifferentiation, for limitations of the ndividual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual.

The President continues by a plea for the elimination of the word "equality" in the discussion of the social relations of the races and the substitution for this of a recognition of "a fundamental, eternal, and inescapable difference." He asks that the black man be permitted to vote when he is fit to vote and the white man be prohibited from voting when he is unfit to vote. He asks for equal educational opportunity which will enable the colored people to develop their own leaders capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between races as he suggests. The President declares that he looks forward to a time when both the political solidarity of the white South and of the Negro race will be broken, and he urges the leaders of his own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct.

It may surprise some people, particularly in the North, that there has been so little objection from the South to what the President said about limiting the right to vote to those who are fit to vote. The fact is that a number of Southern States have made their laws in accordance with this principle. They have provided that any man, black or white, who can read, who owns certain property, and who has paid his taxes can vote; thus testing the voter's intelligence, his thrift, and his patriotism.

The President's speech should be read and studied in full. There will be many, perhaps, both colored and white, North and South, who will disagree in part with the emphasis which he lays upon various aspects of the problem. There will be some extremists who will disagree with the speech *in toto* and for exactly opposite reasons. It is remarkable, however, that an address on so vexed a problem should have received such widespread approbation. In our opinion, the voice of approbation will grow in strength as time goes on. The prospect of such a growth is increased by the fact that the President, without losing sight of the ideals of political and social justice, has [illegible] courage to keep [illegible] showed [illegible]

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### ALL RIVER MASS EVE NEWS
### OCTOBER 28, 1921

## THE BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

President Harding said nothing very new at Birmingham. He is not given to advancing startlingly new theories. But he has the faculty of dressing up old ideas and showing them in a new and attractive light that makes us wonder why they never appealed before. What he said will not appeal to many of the loose tongued radicals who share the negro leadership today, but one can imagine that had the late Booker T. Washington been present he would have applauded almost every sentence spoken by the President. For when he said. "The black man should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man," he almost echoed the great negro's words. In emphasizing the necessity for political and economic equality between the races, dismissing social equality as both impossible and undesirable, he also ran along with Washington. Washington's ideas on the race problem were sane and sensible; whether Mr. Harding was consciously following them makes no difference. The important thing is that what he said at Birmingham was helpful, and will make Southerners think.

The big thing in the South is race. It colors everything. It enters into every relation of life, and thought of race is never absent from the mind of the South. It affects domestic life, municipal affairs, national politics. Fear of the black makes Southerners keep him away from the polls whenever possible. Fear of the black keeps the South solidly Democratic—a condition good neither for the South nor for the country.

The negro should have political and economic equality, but not in social or racial matters—that is the gist of the President's remarks. The South cannot dodge the justice of this, for it is undeniable.

Mr. Harding truckled neither to the South nor to the negro. He opened his mouth and said what he thought, and pearls of wisdom came forth. It is for the South to show that they were not cast before those unable to appreciate them.

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### CHILLICOTHE O. GAZETTE
### OCTOBER 27, 1921

The speech which President Harding made at Birmingham, Alabama, on Wednesday was a frank and fearless statement of the race problem. At the very outset he claimed it to be national not sectional, pointed out that social equality was neither possible nor desirable and insisted on fairness and justice in all matters of politics and business. He made a strong plea for equal opportunity, and pointed out very clearly that work and worth are the true and necessary foundations of success and must be recognized wherever they exist. He expressed the hope that the day would soon come when the South would caese to be solidly Democratic and the Negroes all Republicans but that both would be governed in voting by their intelligence and interests. The speech was timely, the place chosen for its delivery wisely selected and was an effort worthy of any statesman America has ever produced.

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### MISSOULA MONT MISSOULIAN
### OCTOBER 28, 1921

## NO SQUARE DEAL THERE.

President Harding deserves the highest praise of all fair thinking people for telling the southerners to their faces of the injustice of depriving the negro of all rights guaranteed to him by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States.

There will never be a solution to the race problem while this discrimination against the negro continues in the south. There will be lynchings, burnings at the stake and race hatred until the southern people are made to realize that the negro must have every opportunity of citizenship fixed for him by the constitution. It was a timely warning offered by the president when he said, "Whether you like it or not unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality." These were brave words spoken to an audience which, as we read, received them with mixed emotions.

Following the presidents address at Birmingham, we read that Senator Watson, the "wild man of Georgia," issued a statement deprecating that the president should "plant fatal germs in the minds of the black race."

If the germ of human rights, regardless of color, is fatal, then, of course, Thomas Jefferson and the colonial fathers assembled with him at Independence hall were all wrong. There is a good deal of disturbance in Missoula and elsewhere over the violation of the eighteenth amendment, but for almost fifty years the people of the south have been permitted to violate the fourteenth amendment which guarantees the negro the right to vote and to have his vote counted. The negro, as he becomes better trained by education, will not stand this forever, and for all the trouble that will follow, the white man of the south must shoulder a great part of the responsibility.

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### BOSTON MASS POST
### NOVEMBER 1, 1921

## A POSSIBILITY

It was to be expected that President Harding's manly plea for political justice for the colored man in the South would produce its share of disapproval at Washington, and more particularly among public men from Southern States. So we find Senator Harrison, of Mississippi, fulminating loudly at the Birmingham speech and fearing that terrible things may result from it. Thus:

> If the President's theory is carried to its ultimate conclusion, namely, that the black person, either man or woman, should have full economic and political rights with the white man and white woman, then that means that the black man can strive to become President of the United States, hold cabinet positions and occupy the highest places of public trust in the nation.

Yes, that is a possibility. But is it, under our laws and our spirit of liberty, so very appalling? If a Negro had the ability and the character, and could obtain the nomination and get votes enough to win the election, what then? Would the country go upon the rocks because, although its political laws and customs had been fully observed, the successful candidate were to have a dark skin?

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### AUGUSTA ME [illegible]
### OCTOBER 29, 1921

What President Harding said about giving the colored man full recognition of merit, full economic and political rights doesn't please Senators Harrison and Watson—fortunately. Watson says it is planting fatal germs in the minds of the black race and Harrison says he would give the black man such rights as he is "entitled to"—Harrison of course to say just what the black man was entitled to—but he would not have it possible for a white woman to work under a black man, although the black had demonstrated his capacity to be an employer. In other words, they would have one rule for the whites and another for the blacks. They would have the blacks denied opportunity to acquire that which their brains and character and effort had earned. This would not be America if Messrs. Harrison and Watson were to have their way.

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### VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
### NOVEMBER 1, 1921

President Harding pleased the Southorners by declaring for the voting of negroes "when they are fit for it," by expressing his opposition to social equality," and by recognizing a "fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference" between the races.

Race Problem — 1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials)

United States

ST LOUIS MO STAR
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## RACE PARALLELISM.

When President Harding knows exactly what he wants to say on an important subject, he can say it unimpeded by verbose rhetoric. That is what he did yesterday when he went down into Alabama and discussed the race problem.

Simply and logically, he presented the one—and the only—possible solution of the effort of black and white to occupy the same territory. The negro must not be held down, and he must forget about "social equality."

Mr. Harding would substitute parallelism for either equality or a "master or subject" status. Imagine, if you will, the white and black races as the contents of two parallel test tubes, each rising as high as its own characteristics will carry it. The black race, perhaps, might not rise half as high as the white. There would be inequality. But there would be no fixed inequality. The black race, through its own prowess, might rise as high as the white.

Now suppose it did so. The two columns would be equal in height. But they would still be separate. Equality does not mean social association. The centuries required to produce this change might relegate questions of social equality to ancient history, or they might not. The social bar might be as strong as ever—stronger, because two-sided—after the races had achieved equality in every respect. That is, the negro race after rising to the exact cultural level of the white, might object to social association as strongly as the whites do. But in the meantime the black race would be working out its destiny and securing every advantage to which it was legally and morally entitled.

Of course Mr. Harding's suggestion cannot be worked out at once into a definite formula and applied. The question of political equality, for instance, has to be treated through processes of slow readjustment. It will take a hundred years to realize the ideal of a vote for every fit man and the disfranchisement of the unfit, both white and black. This is due mainly to the train of evils which would follow extensive white disfranchisement as an addition to the existing negro disfranchisement. Practically, the negro will slowly gain voting power.

Speaking as a shrewd politician, Mr. Harding gave sound advice to the negroes to quit voting the Republican ticket on racial grounds and vote Republican or Democratic on issues. They will gain the ballot faster by dividing between the parties, and thereby permitting the whites in the south to divide correspondingly, than by any other measure which can speedily be adopted.

In giving this advice, too, Mr. Harding rose above party. The Republicans gain more at this time, from the solid Republican vote of the negroes in critical northern states, than they lose from the solid Democratic electoral vote in the south. Republican political machines in cities and states work to keep the negroes a unit. They do this, not for the negro's benefit, but to carry elections for themselves. These political machines, being without conscience, will not follow Mr. Harding's lead and put national welfare ahead of party majorities, but the negroes themselves should cease following the city bosses and achieve a racial benefit by taking the sound advice the president has given them.

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N Y C GLOBE
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## A GREAT CONTRIBUTION.

President Harding's speech at Birmingham was the most important and the most intelligent statement of the right approach to the Negro problem sponsored by any public man in a generation. Sound judgment characterized his entire discussion. To no problem with which he has been compelled to deal has the President made a more distinct contribution.

It is accurate to say that both north and south have often been unreal and unfair in their treatment of the Negro. Pretenses and prejudices have been kept up on each side. Because of this both whites and Negroes have suffered. The Negro was enslaved; but the act of his servility forged bonds for those who sought to be his masters. The memory of slavery still keeps the south unfree. The southern white is deprived of political freedom—the inability to do otherwise than vote for a single party is not freedom—because of a fear of Negro domination. By a similar instinct, derived from the memory of Reconstruction days, the southern Negro is invariably a Republican asset. This tradition of politics is one of the many consequences of a failure to look squarely at the race issue. The question has been evaded generally. Southerners have continued to repeat their preconceptions, and westerners and easterners and northerners have been no wiser. Conditions in consequence have not improved. A wretched toll of lynching in the south and an equally miserable record of race riots in the middle west and in the national capital have served to reveal the foul potentialities of a perverted national issue.

President Harding showed courage and wisdom in dealing with these facts. Political and economic equality, with social and racial separation, were the central principles of his creed. It is difficult for any one whose mind is open to the appeal of reason and of justice to refuse to stand by the President on these matters. Neither whites nor Negroes will be at rest until both political and economic equality of opportunity are recognized. The white south will not be politically free until the southern Negro is politically free. The white south will not be intellectually free so long as Negroes are unlettered. White men, north and south, cannot hope for economic freedom so long as the Negro is denied economic opportunity. These observations are the axioms of experience. The President has done well to lend the influence of his office to the spreading of such truth.

He was equally wise in his frank rejection of social equality. Much loose thinking on that score has eagerly sought refuge in silence and evasion. Nothing is to be gained from such a course. It is perfectly certain that racial separation is the only condition of friendship and of coöperation between whites and Negroes in the United States. The mere suggestion of social intercourse, with intermarriage and miscegenation as the natural consequences, is repugnant to the average man. The President's advice that racial integrity be sought by Negroes marks the road to the future. Half-suppressed desires for social equality and for a mixture of races can lead only to tragedy and to destruction. Mr. Harding has made the nation his debtor. Political equality, economic equality, social and racial separation—these are the shibboleths, not of a servile state but of a nation eager to achieve self-government and happiness despite the perplexing confusion created by the bringing together of diverse races.

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MILWAUKEE WIS JOURNAL
NOVEMBER 9, 1921

## The Other Editor's Viewpoint

### A Challenge to Two Races

Speaking in the heart of the south upon the most delicate question he could have chosen, President Harding gave a challenge to both the white man and his negro neighbor. He challenged the white man's sense of justice and the negro's self-respect. The former is a more familiar procedure than the latter. Appeals from the north to the south to deal justly with the black man are common. Not so common is the appeal to the negro to make himself worthy of the highest regard. Yet it is an appeal which can claim the authority of the greatest leader which the negro race has yet produced, the late Booker T. Washington. Coming from a president of th political party to which the negro has alwa looked upon as its emancipator, the challenge should carry unusual force.

President Harding's challenge to the negro is an admonition that he look for advancement less to outside forces and more to himself. Instead of aping the ways and adopting the ideals of the white race, let him form his own ways and choose his own ideals. If any of these happen to be the same as those of others, well and good, but in any case let them be his. Let him gradually accumulate his own traditions, his own heroes. In a word, let him assert his originality. Trusting himself to his own resources, he will command first his self-respect and as an inevitable consequence the respect of those about him.—New York Evening Post.

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## QUESTION OF RACE EQUALITY.

President Harding, in his plea before the people of Birmingham, Ala. urged that the Negro should have "increased political, economic and educational opportunity". He did not ask for social equality but said, rather, that that is not possible.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN. TIMES
OCTOBER 28, 1921

What the wise Negro wants, and all he does ask, is equality before the law, and this the government ought to see that he gets, so far as it can. But the government itself cannot secure for him this right in full until the sense of justice of the people has been more ffully developed. When the time comes that the average white man is anxious to see justice done the black man as he is to see it done the white man, then conditions for the black man will be changed mightily for the better. But the conscience of the average white man will have to be changed for the better first.

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## PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AS RELATES TO SOUTH

PULASKI VA. TIMES
NOVEMBER 1, 1921

Washington, D. C., October 29—When the President said in his speech at Birmingham, "Whether you like it or not, if our Democracy is not a lie, you must stand for the political and economic equality of the races," he was uttering a sentiment which will sooner or later have deeper effect in the north than in the south, and he was undertaking the old and impossible task of measuring unlike things with the same yardstick.

Of course the real purpose of the speech was political; he expr[illegible] that the white [illegible] would divide [illegible] and forget [illegible] is nothing but the old, old effort to break the solid south. Even Lincoln dreamed of it, and every Republican President since has tried his hand at it—all in vain. The President also urged the negroes to divide their ranks on political questions—knowing all the time they would not do it. He knew that those who take sufficient interest or pride in their newfound rights to vote, still vote more than 99 percent for the candidates bearing the Republican label.

Conditions in the Southern States demonstrate two things first, that the Southern white people are not going to have equality equality of afny kind between the races; they couldn't have it if they wished and they will never wish it. The differences, socially, economically and ethnically, are fundamental and ineradicable; they go back to creation's dawn and to the Creator; they have always existed and always will. The ipse dixit of a President is uttered, talked of for awhile and is forgotten, while the age-old funamental obstacles remain. In Egypt, before the Exodus even, an Egyptian writer, speaking of the negro, said: "He is different; his skulli s not like ours: it ossifies at the age of puberty, after which the brain does not grow." That is a free translation from the cuneiform characters of the Egyptians. The difference noted then exists now.

If the President's words, quoted in the first paragraph, mean anything they mean that the negro must be allowed to work on and absolute equality with white mechanic or artisan. To be allowed to so work; he would of necessity have to be admitted to membership in the labor unions—the bricklayers' union(, the carpenters' union, the steamfitters, the boilermakers, the stonecutters the tinners, the cigarmakers, the machinists and the electricians the typographical union.

The President says "You must stand for the political and economic equality of the races." It will be interesting to note if the question will appeal to the great labor leaders of the country with the same force with which it seems to have gotten hold of the President. It is interesting to ask how such equality is possible in the Northern cities to which the negro has flocked in recent years, where practically all labor is performed by the members of labor unions, operating under their rules, which require that each member demonstrate before a selected committee his ability to perform skilfully the work properly falling to members of that union. I believe it is true at the present time that all negroes are barred from membership in these unions, and I am informed by union men that there are few negroes in those cities who could pass the required exainations provided they where admittd to them. Now the question naturally arises will the great unions yield to the plainly expressed determination of the President Those who have tested the temper of these men in other matters do not think so.

If the President is sincere in his startling utterance, he should show his faith by his works. The world is still judging the tree by its fruit. Something like twenty percent of the Republicans are negroes: on that basis, twenty per cent of all the Presidnt's appointments should go to negroes They should have two members of the Cabinet, while part of the assistant secretaries in the Departments should be negoes, and part of the President's office force a few members of the Diplomatic Corps, two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, et cetera. But will the appointments be made? No not one of them—in fact, the negroes will not get at Pesident Hardings' hands three appointments that are desired by white Republican politicians. It is reported that the President hasn't even selected a negro chauffeur and the country will wait breathlessly to see if any of his vacancies in the cadet corsp at West Point and Annapolis will be filled with negro boys. Political sincerity, like charity, should begin at home; and Marion, Ohio, yearns for anegro postmaster.

Before the Armaments Conferenese begins the President will have time to go to California and repeat the Birmingham speech merely substituting the word "Japanese" for the word "negroes" Why not?

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ST LOUIS MO GLOBE DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

President Harding conveyed a very plain, and at the same time a very kindly, message to the South and to the negro in his address at Birmingham. It is quite evident that this speech is the result of much thought and study, and that it was prepared with care with a deliberate and earnest purpose. That purpose may be in part a political one, as is suggested from Washington, but it goes very much farther and very much deeper, and only in an incidental way does it touch upon the political phase of the problem. That it is a political problem is, however, clearly recognized. It has always been a political problem, and so long as it continues to be it will be insolvable in the South. "I wish," says the President, "that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up," and it is a wish that should be echoed throughout the country. For that party solidarity is unquestionably a detriment to the South, and no less surely a detriment to the welfare of the negro race. The whites in the South support the Democratic party largely in self-defense, in order to maintain control of state and local government and legislation. With the black vote solidly Republican the whites in the South cannot divide politically as they do elsewhere without throwing their government into the hands of the negroes. And this fear of political domination by the negroes leads to repressions that are hurtful to negro development and progress.

The negro rightfully has a sentimental attachment to the Republican party as the original source of his freedom, and the party, speaking nationally, has always been his friend, though it has seldom made adequate return for his support. But the Republican party in the South, as a general thing, has not justified the respect of the whites nor the attachment of the blacks. It has been a mere skeleton organization, without influence nationally, existing mainly for spoils, and this largely because it has been, in the South, almost exclusively a negro party. The unanimous support of the negroes has prevented the development of the Republican party as an effective agency in public affairs, and this support has been continuously disadvantageous to the advancement of the negro. Attachment to party, as we have long contended, should not be governed by sentiment or tradition, but should rest primarily on the living issues of the day, and in the South, as elsewhere, among negroes and among whites, the ballot should be founded not upon the past but upon the present. There are millions of whites in the South who would stand with the Republican party on current issues, but who vote the Democratic ticket regularly because of racial conditions. There are millions of blacks in the South who should be voting the Democratic ticket upon their honest individual views of public and private and racial welfare. If the people of both races could and would abandon traditional attachments and vote in accordance with their views on the principles and issues of the day, the South generally, whites and blacks, would be greatly benefited, and the Democratic party, as well as the Republican, would be strengthened.

Mr. Harding has put his finger on the key to the solution of the race problem. It is primarily a political problem. The Republican party in the North is largely responsible for it, and the Republican party, acting through its leaders and its organization, can do more than any other agency to change the situation, and help to establish in the South that freedom of political choice which is essential to political progress, and in which there should be no color line. This, as we have said, goes farther and deeper than politics. The race situation dominates the economic and social welfare of the whole region, and of both races within it. It hampers both the material and spiritual development of the South. The South needs the negro. It cannot get along without him. And the South should be the best place for the negro. Its climate suits him best, and, given larger opportunity, he can find his happiest environment and surest progress there. With the political impediment removed he could be given that opportunity without fear. On the contrary, it could be given with certainty that it would advance the interests of the whites as well as the blacks. The negroes should develop within themselves as a race, and should be encouraged and helped so to develop. There must be recognized, as President Harding says, "a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between the two races which admits of no amalgamation, but which does not prohibit them from working in harmony, each progressing along the lines of its racial inheritance and each helping the other in its progress The negro, says President Harding, "should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man." Therein is shown the way to the highest advancement of the negro race, and along that line it is the duty, as it is the interest, of the white race, to give to it guidance, courage and support. Teach the negro to think for himself and act for himself, as a negro, with a rightful pride in his race, and he will justify his right to existence and to a place in the world's affairs. But on the other hand the negro should learn that party solidarity stands in the way of his advancement, particularly in the South, and he should cease to consider attachment to the Republican party as a racial obligation.

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SHELBY O. GLOBE
OCTOBER 26, 1921

The negro must be given a chance to make good, the presidentp maintained. The black man must be given poiltical and economical equality, for the national welfare.

Political and economical equality does not mean social equality, however, the president said. He startled his hearers by protesting against the way in which his own party treats the black man, saying it s selfish. He urged the negro to use hs rght to vote, either for Republican or Democrat.

Race Problem - 1921
United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

PHILADELPHIA PA INQUIRER
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## Harding Seeks Lasting Unity of Peoples

President Harding in his Atlanta speech follows up the good impression which was created by his Birmingham address. In both cases he was talking of the ~~problems of the~~ South and of the United States, and yet his reasoning and his conclusions might easily be applied to world conditions as they exist today. The President says that he is anxious to bring about a lasting unity between all sections of our common country. The bitterness caused by the Civil War has practically ceased to exist. There is a new generation both below and above Mason and Dixon's line, and neither of them can become excited over the question of slavery because such a thing would be impossible in this day and generation. But there are political difficulties that have arisen as a result of the war and the President discusses these with candor and rare courage. He says, and he says rightly, that when the negro in the South ceases to be treated as a political asset sectionalism will no longer exist.

But in his Atlanta speech he takes our own difficulties and shows that they may be used as a lesson for the settlement of the troubles of the world. "We fought our own war of sections and of systems," he says, "and decided forever in favor of peace and unity. Our own experience has taught us that we may hope that a like decision will be reached by a world reasoning amid the convictions which follow in the wake of a tragedy supreme."

It is perfectly clear from this speech that power and responsibility are bringing forth the statesmanlike qualities of the President. He insists that there is no danger of any surrender of our national independence, but he insists that it is unthinkable that we shall be a merely selfish America, ready to prosper by the misfortune of others. The Nation, according to its chief spokesman, "will stand for co-operations, the mutual helpfulness, the wide preceptions which mankind needs to cheer and speed it on the way to peace restored and assured, of progress resumed and even greater achievements and higher attainments."

It is fortunate to have official utterances of this kind on the eve of the assembling of the conferences concerning armaments. Both the words and the spirit of the speeches are in harmony with the objects of this most important gathering. The friends and the critics of the President alike will find them reassuring. Those who predicted that the election of Mr. Harding would mean a narrow, isolated policy will be happily confounded. His feet are firmly planted on the earth, but his aspirations are lofty, and he makes clear the high and unselfish motives of the United States so far as the forthcoming meeting is concerned.

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PEORIA ILL TRANSCRIPT
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## HARDING ON THE ~~NEGRO~~ PROBLEM

Speaking at Birmingham, Ala., "the Chicago of the South," President Harding deals frankly with the Negro problem and urges all Americans to give to the black man broader political, economic and educational advantages.

"Racial amalgamation there cannot be," says the president. "Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it. The black man should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man. I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man from voting when he is unfit to vote. Men of both races may stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. This is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference."

The foregoing excerpts from Mr. Harding's speech epitomize his expressed opinions on the Negro problem. They are opinions in which both liberal blacks and liberal whites will concur on principle, but do not suggest a practical solution of the problem. The president's suggestion that the north and west are rapidly becoming competitors of the south for Negro labor and that it therefore behooves the southland to make working and living conditions in that section agreeable to the black is an appeal to economic self-interest rather than to conscience.

There is some force in Mr. Harding's suggestion that the population of the United States is not likely to increase materially in the near future and that there will be a dependable demand for common labor. This also is an economic appeal. It stands to reason that if the social distinction between whites and blacks is to be maintained, economic, political and education freedom accorded the black man, cannot be secured independently of social ostracism.

Housing and city zoning are partly social and partly economic, political and educational. There are times when the social instinct is more powerful than all others combined. Social distinctions even among the whites are provocative of class warfare. Difficulty in securing the services of domestics is based on a growing prejudice against the "hired girl" who despite the fact she is better paid than the shop girl and, if economical has more to show for a year's work than the downtown flapper, wages an unequal combat against the opprobrium attaching to the kind of service in which she is engaged. This prejudice has broken up thousands of homes and forced families of ample means to hop from hotel to hotel and watering place to watering place.

A reflection on President Harding's speech suggests that the solution for the Negro problem lies deeper than consideration for the black man. Public opinion should be educated to respect the right of all citizens, black and white, native-born and foreign, to select the social group of their choice without prejudice in other matters. The dying Socrates expressed the belief he would find in the future world the class of philosophers to which he belonged. Social caste, long regarded as an invention of snobbery, is natural selection which is as fundamental as nature itself. It is the natural privilege, and as such should be regarded the legal right, of all citizens to join any caste which will admit them, or "go it alone."

Slogans of democracy have caused incalculable mischief. Equality of opportunity and development, insofar as it can be politically enforced, is desirable. Other kinds of "equality" are venerable fictions. The gorge of nature rises against them.

The Harding ideal cannot be realized until cities are made, not born. There are black aristocracies and white aristocracies. The classes can be taught to work together and think together, but they will not live together.

The bend sinister knows no law.

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PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## RACE PROBLEMS

DISINTERESTED and unprejudiced spectators of the race problem which confronts the American people—provided, of course, there can be any such thing—will be divided between admiration of the courage displayed by President Harding for his speech at Birmingham, Ala., and doubt as to how his words will be received by those to whom they are of such vital interest—namely, the Negroes themselves. For in appealing to the whites of the South to forget their race prejudices and to grant educational, economic and political equality to their white neighbors and fellow citizens he coupled that appeal with counsel to the Negro to forgo all expectation of social equality and to aspire only to that stage of economic and political progress for which he fits himself.

Of course, the latter qualification will not be pleasing to one extreme element among the colored people, an element which has been loud in its demand for unconditional equality of opportunity and position and bitter in its rejection of any form of segregation that is even faintly tinted by compulsion. Perhaps too much importance ought not to be attached to the "red" agitators among the Negro populations; but it would be imprudent to ignore the extent to which that agitation has been carried or the latent perils resulting from it. The President wisely recognizes that the problem is no longer a Southern one exclusively; and while he was well advised to give cordial recognition to the enlightened efforts made in the South to find a solution consistent with justice and humanity, he did well to lay emphasis on the national scope of the problem that has to be faced and indirectly upon the necessity under which the American people lie to make their professions of democracy harmonize with their practice in dealing with the problem at their own doors.

There is no question before this Nation that is fraught with greater peril to its well-being than the adjustment, on a basis of equity and humanity, of the relations between the races. Among the Negroes the issue is becoming increasingly acute. Race-consciousness has been immeasurably intensified by the events of the last few years; and the President's bold recognition of the danger and his classing the peril of a racial division with the evils resulting from it in the "Solid South" was a timely and needed warning, which, although addressed to Southern hearers, was intended as well for all the people. No one will gainsay the truth of his dictum that only the Negro who is fit to vote should be permitted to do so; and his further assertion that the same rule should apply to the white as well as to the black citizen went to the root of the problem, so far as concerns its political aspects. When this Nation is ready and has the courage and honesty to eliminate the unfit voter, whether he be white or black, that much the nearer will it attain to the ideal of democracy.

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BALTIMORE MD. EVE. SUN
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## The President On The Race Question.

President Harding showed political courage and common sense of a high order in his discussion of the race question in Birmingham yesterday. Certainly no clearer, bolder, more statesmanlike utterance has been made by the President, none more promising of good results in the internal affairs of the country.

What he said about the impossibility of amalgamation and social equality, his advocacy of separation of the races, racially and socially, is, of course, not new. It is what the Southern people have understood and said and acted upon from the beginning. But they have been denounced bitterly for doing so by the "bloody-shirt" politicians and the theoretical negro sympathizers of the North.

It may be claimed that the President's object is political—an effort to break up the Solid South and align it with the protection and manufacturing East in the support of the old line Republicans of the East and North, and thereby offset the growing power of the Western "bloc," which is Republican, chiefly in name only. This effort of the Republicans has been going on for some time. It was shown in the ditching of Henry Lincoln Johnson in Georgia and the appointment of Frank Linney, against whom the negro politicians made a drive. The President has, in effect, declared for white supremacy in the South, even in the Republican party.

Nevertheless the President's fine utterance, whatever its object, deserves only the highest commendation and will be of great benefit to the country and to the negroes as well. That is statesmanship, whether mixed with politics or not.

For half a century after emancipation the Republican party made a pet of the negro, used him at the polls, taught him that he was "as good as a white man," if not better; tried to force negro equality upon the South by constitutional amendment; appointed the negro to high office in the South with white women working under him; catered to him; sent him to national conventions, where he was usually for sale to the highest bidder, and did what was possible to ruin him politically and economically. These tactics could have no other effect than to line up the whites defensively against any such program. The result was not only a Solid South but the virtual disfranchisement of the negro. A solid block of ignorance, venality, and prejudice always arrayed against the intelligence of the Southern States was intolerable.

It is as gratifying as it is fortunate for the country that the Republican President has officially discarded the old policy and has come to look at facts from the patriotic and common-sense standpoint. Some Southern politicians will disagree with the President as to giving the negro any political rights, but assuming that a negro is fit to vote and cannot be herded by crooked adventurers, we believe that intelligent and fair-minded Southerners will find no fault with the President's propositions.

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N Y C POST

OCTOBER 27, 1921

# A Challenge to Two Races

Speaking in the heart of the South upon the mos delicate question he could have chosen, Presiden Harding yesterday gave a challenge to both the white man and his negro neighbor. He challenged the white man's sense of justice and the negro's self respect. The former is a more familiar procedure than the latter. Appeals from the North to the South to deal justly with the black man are common Not so common is the appeal to the negro to make himself worthy of the highest regard. Yet it is an appeal which can claim the authority of the greates leader which the negro race has yet produced, the late Booker T. Washington. Coming from a President of the political party to which the negro has always looked up as its emancipator, the challenge should carry unusual force.

Friends of the negro will be the first to hail with approval President Harding's frank utterance upon social equality. Only extremists among the negro's supporters in the white race and misguided members of his own race have ever raised the question. It is for the best interests of both races that the idea should be emphatically disapproved by the head of the nation. Social relations in the ordinary sense of the term are not a matter of legislation. Races and even sections will have their own customs in this respect, and nothing but harm can come of a demand from any element of a population for "social equality." The other half of this proposition is no less valid. If no part of a people may claim a general social equality, neither may any part of a people discriminate by law against any other part. "Jim Crow" stations and cars, in which the accommodations for negroes are notoriously inferior to accommodations for the whites, are as reprehensible as insistence upon equality of general social conditions.

President Harding's challenge to the negro is an admonition that he look for advancement less to outside forces and more to himself. Instead of aping the ways and adopting the ideals of the white race let him form his own ways and choose his own ideals. If any of these happen to be the same as those of others, well and good, but in any case let them be his. Let him gradually accumulate his own traditions, his own heroes. In a word, let him assert his originality. Trusting himself to his own resources, he will command first his self-respect and as an inevitable consequence the respect of those about him.

The President's main purpose in visiting Birmingham, it will be said, was to break the Solid South by doing what he could to make the Southern white man feel that he would be at home in the Republican party. Mr. Harding is not the first Republican Chief Magistrate to attempt this task; in all probability he will not be the last. It is not a mission of which even a President of the whole people need be ashamed. Broad-minded persons in the South have long recognized that one of the best things that could happen for their section would be the freer alignment of voters which prevails in most of the rest of the country. The South is the chief loser in a political arrangement by which it always plumps for one ticket. Its action is regularly discounted; its influence is circumscribed. Let a few Southern States show signs of going Republican and see the enhanced respect with which both parties will listen to their political leaders.

But President Harding's address to the Southern white man and woman was much more than a blow at the oldest and most cohesive "bloc" in our history. It was a challenge to their democracy. And it was as specific as it was courageous. Equality of economic opportunity for the black man; equality of educational opportunity; even equality of political opportunity—these were the suggestions put forth by the one official qualified to voice the sentiment of the entire country. We believe that to the best men and women of the South they convey nothing new, except a call for a fresh rallying of their forces. But as the utterance of the Chief Executive the words may be expected to make an impression in quarters hitherto indifferent to such considerations and to deepen the impression which has been made by Southerners like the late Edgar Gardner Murphy of the city in which President Harding spoke. The President's address is at once a challenge to Southerners who have not sufficiently realized the seriousness of their denial of democracy to the negro and a cheer to their more open-minded associates.

In proportion as both races take up the challenge us strikingly made to them will the South advance he position which has long been awaiting her.

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N Y C WORLD

OCTOBER 27, 1921

## MR. HARDING ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

President Harding deserves credit for taking his courage in both hands and going to Birmingham, Ala., to discuss the negro question at the city's semi-centennial celebration. As a rule the North has discussed the negro problem and the South has dealt with it, nor have theory and practice often conflicted, since they so seldom met. Mr. Harding has carried all his convictions with him into the South. He had nothing very new to offer on the subject; his main contribution lies in the fact that he did not dodge it.

In fact, Mr. Harding asks for the negro the sort of justice which the North has been asking ever since the Civil War, and with almost as little understanding of the difficulties involved as was to be found north of Mason and Dixon's line in the days of the carpet-baggers. His programme is best summarized in his quotation from an article by F. D. Lugard in the Edinburgh Review:

> Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material.

This is a concept easy to retain in Edinburgh, New York or even Washington; very much harder to keep unblurred in Bombay or Birmingham. No two races can possess "complete uniformity" of ideals without merging completely; equality in the opportunities for knowledge, culture, achievement and admiration are sadly dependent on social equality; races do not live side by side without invidious comparisons.

The race problem, says Mr. Harding very truly, is becoming more and more a problem of the North as well as the South. "More and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world." America hastened her contact with the question by importing slaves, but as the earth develops graduall into one vast community it would have found u out anyway in the end, despite every effort towa isolation.

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TROY N Y EVE RECORD

OCTOBER 27, 1921

## DISCUSSES RACE QUESTION.

President Harding manifested courage in speaking so frankly on the race problem at the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of Birmingham, Ala. It is one thing to speak courageously on this question from the safe fastnesses of the North; it is another thing to speak to Southerners about the negro.

The President's statements were y frank and comprehensive of tire problem; they were essen- y sound and practical. The Pres- nt believes in the right of the American negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages based on a pride of race but never on an aspiration for social equality. This is a statement with which no one should quarrel, for if the two races are to develop physically, intellectually and morally, no one of the two can oppress the other and deny it economic and educational advantages without both suffering. Nor can the two cross the natural physical barriers without deterioration to both races.

Theoretically, therefore, the problem is easy of solution; it is not so in practice because of the confusion of the factors in the problem by both the whites and the blacks. It has, however, become much more than an American problem , for the racial question has already been raised with reference to the Japanese. Racial amalgamation there cannot be, whether it pertain to Japanese o negroes, but the various races, eac with its own racial pride and ambition, ought to be able to achieve splendidly without mutual prejudice.

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LOWELL MASS EVE CITIZEN

OCTOBER 31. 1921

As evidence to confirm President Harding's belief in the possibility of cultural equality for the Negro, it may be noticed that the Porter prize for the best examination for admission to Amherst college has been awarded to a colored student from Washington.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

ST LOUIS MO POST DISPATCH
OCTOBER 28, 1921

### THE RACE PROBLEM.

Apart from politics, which is stressed in comment on President Harding's speech on the race problem, Mr. Harding took in the main a sensible view of the problem and uttered wholesome truth.

It is impossible for Americans to gainsay the President's advocacy of equality for whites and blacks under the law—equality of political rights and of educational and economic opportunity. These are based upon fundamental American principles. We cannot have citizens and half-citizens, nor deprive any element of citizenship of rights and opportunities which are accorded other elements under like conditions. The laws for all must be the same and they must be enforced impartially. We cannot keep any part of the population ignorant or economically suppressed and oppressed.

On the other hand, when the President said that the question of social equality and assimilation should be eliminated from the problem as conditions that are impossible of control he gave wholesome counsel to the negroes. Social equality does not come within the jurisdiction of law or government. That is a delicate personal matter which must adjust itself. Mr. Harding's view that the races should remain separate, each one developing its own characteristics, capacities and possibilities under best conditions, is good, but the difficulties of realizing his idea of completely separated races in one nation are great. Where there are so many contacts and conflicting interests between races so widely different in characteristics, temperament, capacities and civilized status, eliminating all question of social equality and assimilation in the minds of the backward race and infusing into it such race consciousness and pride as to induce its members to strive for their own distinctive development are slow and painful processes.

Nevertheless, the problem must be worked out, and it is encouraging to have Mr. Harding, whose counsel as President assures a serious hearing, giving courageous and forceful expression of his views. He, at least, offers helpful suggestions and stimulates earnest thought on our biggest domestic problem.

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### A NATIONAL MISFORTUNE

Chicago Defender 11/19/21

IT IS A NATIONAL MISFORTUNE as well as a detriment to the race or group concerned, if political conditions be such as to make it necessary for any one race or group of which our citizenship is composed to act or vote in practically a solid body with any one political party. No one can be a true and independent voter who is obliged from a standpoint of necessity to ignore and disregard economic and domestic questions in casting his vote.

THIS MATTER was touched upon by President Harding in his speech at Birmingham. But his remarks along that line revealed the fact that one who is so intelligent and so well informed as he, is laboring under a misconception with reference to this subject. His idea seems to be that the conditions referred to are the outgrowth of voluntary action and choice on the part of both races. In point of fact it is not a race, but a party question.

THE WHITE DEMOCRATS of the South pretend that popular elections in that section are to determine which of the two races shall dominate. This is false. But it leaves our voters no other alternative than to act with whatever party, if any, that may be opposed to the color line democracy. This subterfuge has worked so successfully at the South that it was thought that the same tactics would work throughout the country. Hence in the presidential election in 1920 an effort was made, though clandestinely in some localities, to win the election for the Democratic party by making appeals to race prejudice. The President is no doubt aware this was especially true of Ohio and Illinois.

EVEN OUR OWN James Hamilton Lewis, a man up to whom we had looked to lead the fight to liberalize his own party on the race question and thus make it possible for us to vote for and act with his party without jeopardizing our rights as American citizens, allowed himself to become a victim of the demagogues' plea by injecting the race question into the campaign in this state. But the white people of the North proved to be too intelligent and too patriotic to be influenced by such narrow-mindedness, a fact which Mr. Lewis and his party later learned to their sorrow.

INTELLIGENT PEOPLE knew and know that there is absolutely no danger of "Negro domination," in any one of the Northern states, and while some of them may honestly believe, through false representation, that the same thing is not true of the South, yet even a cursory investigation would satisfy them that there is no more danger of actual physical Negro domination in South Carolina and Mississippi if suffrage in those states were not restricted, than in Ohio and Illinois.

BUT THE COLOR LINE being drawn by the Democrats leaves us, unfortunately, no other alternative than to vote against the candidates of the Democratic party. It sometimes happens in view of this situation, that members of our group find it necessary to vote for a candidate labelled Republican who is otherwise objectionable, and against a candidate labelled Democratic, who is otherwise acceptable. When this barrier is removed, as is gradually being done, especially in the North, East and West, then the solidarity of the Race vote, which President Harding characterized, and correctly so, as a misfortune, will no longer exist.

AS A CONCRETE EXAMPLE the fact has been brought out that the recently organized Ku Klux Klan is a secret oath-bound political organization having for its object the inculcation of a sentiment of hostility and antipathy against four classes or groups of American citizens, namely, Roman Catholics, Jews, Colored Americans and foreign born Americans. Suppose this organization should develop into the formation of a political party and nominate candidates for office on a plan thus promulgated, would any sane person expect members of any one of the above group to support the candidates of that party? This would be contrary to human nature, and yet that is the position in which the Colored voters have been placed by the unwise and unfortunate attitude of the Democratic party towards which we regret to note some so-called Republicans are inclined to follow.

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### A Good Speech

Vardamans Weekly 11/3/21
Jackson Miss.

The speech made by President Harding at Atlanta, Georgia, on his way back to Washington from Birmingham was a very happy effort. He spoke of Grady and other great Southerners just like I would have expected him to speak. President Harding appreciates a good man, and he knew what he was talking about when he mentioned the great men Georgia had given to the nation.

I wish President Harding had delivered the Atlanta speech at Birmingham and let the negro question alone. I do not think he understands the negro question and therefore, does not do himself justice in talking about it.

It would not be so bad if the negroes were not so ready to misinterpret what every Northern white man in authority may say on that subject. President Harding, of course, does not mean that negroes should be given political rights unless the negro were capable of performing those rights for the good of society.

I know President Harding very well, and I know that he would not vest the negro with any rights or privileges that he knew the negro would misuse. He wishes the negroes well, so do I, and he would like to see him grow in industrial wealth and sane in the exercise of the privilege of citizenship, but he does not know as I know that the negro is utterly incapable of doing that, and the vesting him with such powers will only lead to trouble and disappointment. Of course, if President Harding had thought a moment and considered the effect of the example set by his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, he would have known that an expression of sentiment like he gave utterance to in Birmingham would be hurtful to the white man and negro alike, he would not have said it. He made a mistake which he will find out later, and I am not going to condemn him for it, but shall wait and let him find out for himself, and try to correct the error he has committed. I can only say that I regret it.

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### AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET MR. HARDING'S SPEECH.

Birmingham Ala. Reporter
11/5/21

President Harding's address on the race question delivered in Birmingham has attracted more attention than any speech he has made in a long time. It is now a topic of discussion throughout the country. Mr. Harding showed unusual courage in making a frand statement of his views on this subject while a guest of honor in the heart of the South, but he must have been struck by the fact that he received repeated assurances from prominent citizens of Birmingham and Alabama that they heartily approved of his attitude.

One part of the President's address has created much speculation and may be mininterpreted. The question is being asked, "What did he mean by 'political equality' for the Negro?" He seems to have made his meaning clear by his statement, "I would say, let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man from voting when he is unfit to vote." There was no suggestion anywhere in his speech that the south should allow Negroes to govern the white people, although it may be claimed by alarmists that an unrestricted Negro vote might bring that kind of situation about.

On the other hand, one of the President's most striking sentences regarding political and economic equality was this: "In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individuals."

President Harding evidently meant by "political equality" that the Negro be given the same right to vote, according to his fitness, that is given the white man. Mr. Harding said quite positvely that he dd not advocate racial or social equality, and it is rather far-fetched to assert that anything of that sort could be accomplished by the ballot.

(Birmingham Age-Herald, October 28, 1921.)

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Manchester Conn. Herald
OCTOBER 27, 1921

### THE PRESIDENT AT BIRMINGHAM

President Harding's speech yesterday to a great audience of Southerners in the capital city of Alabama was a courageous and powerful plea for a rational solution of the race problem. It was in accord with the best traditions of statesmanship, instinct with the true spirit of Americanism, unsullied by a selfish thought or by one not thoroughly imbued with love and desire for the welfare of our common country.

As a foundation for a real settlement the President would have the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race swept to the winds. He wants to see the time come when both white and black men in the South will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer Democratic policies; and when they will vote

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

**the Republican ticket for like reasons. "We cannot go on, as we have gone for more than half a century with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines."**

**But, and this point is important, the President does not want annalgmation, which cannot be. He looks instead for partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity. A black man cannot be a white man. "He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man." The colored race should improve itself as "a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights."**

**As to the methods of solving the problem, President Harding sees the true way out in the mutual recognition of an absolute divergence in things social and racial. This must be accompanied by economic equality, the same equality of economic opportunity that exists or should exist between members of the same race, equality proportioned to the honest capacaties and deserts of the individual. There must also be equal educational opportunity, that is, no obstacles placed in the way of development because of race, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve.**

**Summed up, it may be said that President Harding's contribution to this difficult question is a continuance as separate and distinct races, and, in all things else, equal and inalienable rights to all, implied by the words: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." There cannot fail to be much criticism of the President's constructive program; there will not fail to be much admiration for the courage and breadth of his statesmanship.**

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NEWBURYPORT MASS NEWS
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## HARDING ON RACIAL EQUALITY.

Contrary to general expectation President Harding handled the race question in the South without gloves at Birmingham. Evidently he has well thought-out views of the relations between negro and whites. He practically read a lecture to both sides. We cannot say that he solved this pressing question, which will probably remain unsolved for many centuries but he uttered some homely common sense truths about it, and did not treat it with hypocrisy and buncombe as do so many northern orators. President Harding has been in the South before and has a sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties on both sides of the question.

Rarely does a Republican orator dare to tell the southern negro that he must not aspire to social equality with the whites, but this is absolute common sense. The North for all its boasted fairness has never gone so far as that. It is true that northern preparatory schools and colleges give bright young negroes wonderful opportunities. They are given every privilege. Their young white companions with the generosity of youth overlook their social standing. But just as soon as the talented young negro enters actual life the unreasonable blight of social ostracism overtakes him, and he is made the more miserable by his educated sensibilities.

Turning from the segregated colored portion of his audience, President Harding told his white hearers that unless democracy is a lie equal opportunity must be given to the colored people. We northerners should know that 95 per cent. of the property of Virginia is owned by whites and that the negroes must not expect political dominance. White rule in the South is so inevitable that it is useless to fight or argue against it. Granting this, however, well meaning southerners should give the negro a better opportunity than he now gets. In places in the South education of the colored folk has been frowned on because of a fear that it would make them politically ambitious. The negro should not be thus artificially kept down but should be given every opportunity to gain mental stature and amass property. The president's message was given with his usual kindness and should have a good effect.

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KOKOMO IND TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 26, 1921

## HARDING ON RACE QUESTION

Those who read the address delivered by President Harding today on the race question, at Birmingham Alabama, are likely to find themselves approving both its general sentiment and its specific suggestions. The president said some thing that needed to be said—that needed to be said to the people of the South, both black and white—and he said them straight from the shoulder, in the heart of the region where the race question is most acute.

The South needed to be told to let the black citizen vote when he is fit to vote, and to prohibit the white citizen from voting when he is unfit to exercise that right. It needed to be told, too, that it should provide equal educational advantages of both races; that it should lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and adopt a constructive policy of racial relationship, and that the bogy of a solidly democratic South and the tradition of a solidly republican black race ought to be broken up.

The president said that there must be partnership of the races if humanity is to achieve the high aims that it pretends to aspire to; that politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, and that the right of the negro to economic and educational advantages should be based on a pride of race, but never on an aspiration for social equality. He made it plain and emphatic that there should be recognition on both sides of absolute divergence in things social and racial—that racial amalgamation there can not be. The negro was told that his desire should be to be "the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man." That this was wholesome and timely advice there can be no doubt.

It is the president's conviction, as stated in his address, that the colored race should be encouraged to improve itself as a distinct race, with traditions and aspirations all its own. "Out of such racial ambitions and pride," he said, "will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights." Out of such a movement would proceed, he predicted, a satisfying of natural inclinations and an incalculable increase in happiness, contentment and general welfare.

The address was probably the frankest that has ever been delivered by a president on the race question. It met the race problem not only for the South, but for the country as a whole, straightforwardly, intelligently and sympathetically. It revealed a thorough appreciation of the seriousness of the race problem and undoubtedly contained wise suggestion as to how to set about finding a solution for it.

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NEW CASTLE IND COURIER
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## *HARDING IN THE SOUTH.*

President Harding did a brave and courageous thing yesterday when, at Birmingham, Ala., in the heart of the "black belt," he appealed to the nation—and to the South in particular—to "lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms" and support a constructive policy of racial relationship, based on principles he laid down as follows:

> Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, provided on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial.
>
> I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.
>
> I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic south and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.
>
> I would insist upon equal educational opportunities for both.
>
> Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. This is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference.
>
> Racial amalgamation there can not be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.
>
> The black man should seek to be and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

It is the President's first visit in the South, as President, and he did not hesitate to inform both whites and blacks that he knows what is the greatest and most aggravating problem they have down there, nor did he quibble in giving his opinion as to its solution.

Straight talk, such as the President indulged in at Birmingham, will go a long ways toward making Southerners see and realize that there are two sides to the negro question and that the white race, as the superior and dominating one, must take the initiative in adopting and carrying out a constructive policy that will solve it.

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OMAHA NEB BEE
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## Bourbon Attitude on the Negro.

Those who read President Harding's address delivered at Birmingham on Wednesday would have been disappointed if it had not set off some of the bourbons from down in Dixie. Senator "Pat" Harrison of Mississippi, as true a champion of his class as ever contended for the utter subjugation and repression of all aspirations on part of the negro, rose to the opportunity in the senate. He condemns President Harding for having indulged in an "unfortunate and mischievous utterance." Senator "Tom" Watson of Georgia, elected on a Know-Nothing platform, anti-Jew, anti-Catholic, proponent of the Ku Klux Klan, says it is "a great pity that a northern man, holding the highest office on earth, should go down into the south and plant there fatal germs in the minds of the black race."

What are these fatal germs, this unfortunate and mischievous utterance? President Harding said:

> Politically and economically, there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, provided on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial.
>
> I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.
>
> I wish that both the tradition of a solidly democratic south and the tradition of a solidly republican black race might be broken up.
>
> I would insist upon equal educational opportunities for both.
>
> Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. This is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference.
>
> Racial amalgamation there can not be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.
>
> The black man should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

Such expressions sound strange, of course, to ears attuned to the extravagant and undiluted assertions of divine right of the oligarchy to rule the southland. Americans will recognize in them the doctrine of political equality, of opportunity, and privilege, guaranteed by our fundamental law. Only when such a policy is adopted will the race problem disappear, but along with that will also disappear the chance of a Harrison or a Watson reaching a place in the senate of the United States. Thinking southerners, and they are multiplying, realize the need of a new policy, and in time the bourbons will be only a memory and not a very pleasant one.

President Harding's address holds only hope and encouragement for the people of the south, a constructive program that means much for their future, and they will profit by giving heed to the advice of friends from the north rather than to always follow the bigoted leaders who have inherited all of the folly and little of the chivalry of a day that is gone.

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UTICA N Y DISPATCH
OCTOBER 27, 1921

Speaking at Birmingham, Ala., esterday, President Harding admonished the North and South, whites and blacks, to put aside old prejudices and pretenses and set he face of the Nation courageously owards a constructive and permaent solution of the race problem. Ie declared that social equality beween the races must not be conidered a possibility, but insisted hat the black man must have an ncreased political, economic and ducational opportunity if the American Nation is to live true its traditions or democracy.

(Editorials)

President Harding's Speech

Race Problem—1921

United States

## THE BIRMINGHAM SPEECH.

N. Y. Age 11/5/21

Any utterance by the President of the United States has come to have significance but an utterance by a President of the United States on the race question has magnified significance. President Harding's speech at Birmingham has, so far as we know, no precedent in that it is the first time that a President of the United States has made the Negro quesion the whole of a speech in the South. Indeed, we do not recall that any President ever before has said so much exclusively on the race question in any other part of the country. Generally the question has been alluded to in pasing.

First of all, President Harding is to be commended for bringing up a frank discussion of the race question in the heart of the South, whether we agree with everything he said or not, because in so doing he demonstrated the sincerity of his own statement when he said, **"Surely we shall gain nothing by blinking a the facts, by refusing to give thought to them."**

It is needless to say that President Harding's speech has caused the South as well as the whole country to think on the race question and out of that thinking there will come results. He stirred up more than one stagnant pool of thought, and for us there is nothing worse than stagnation of thought on the race question.

The President made a number of significant statements. He called to the attention of the South the fact that the color question is not local and sectional but is national, and not only nationa but a world problem, that it concerns not only the relations between Southern white people and the American Negro but human relations, in Africa, Australia, and, in a most vitally immediate sense, in Japan. This ought to give the South a broader conception of the whole question. It ought to help the South to understand that the question is not one of white men keeping Negroes in their place down in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, etc., but that it is a question upon which the peace and security of the world largely depends.

The President's statement on the vote contained all that colored men have been asking. He said, **"I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote."**

The President also made strong statements in favor of the educational, economic and industrial equality of the races. He also paid a tribute to the colored men who fought for democracy in the Great War.

Over against these statements the President declared that men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. He spoke of the race question as a question of "recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference." He said, "We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference."

The President gave a quotation from an article written b Mr. Lugard in the "Edinburgh Review" which seems to be a summary of his own ideas and ideals on the race question. The qutation was as follows:

> "Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity, and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material."

Mr. Harding sought to more definitely outline his ideas embraced in the Lugard quotation by adding the following comment of his own:

> "Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual."

We do not know what the President has in mind when he uses the term "social equality." We are not even sure that he himself knows. We think his speech would have been stronger had he omitted any reference to it at all. Perhaps these latter sentiments express his honest convictions on the question. It may be that he also felt the added pressure for making some reservations that would get the other part of his speech over in the South. However it may be, these latter statements make all of the President's speech run around in a vicious circle.

Take his ideas as they are epitomized in the quotation from Mr. Lugard. What Mr. Lugard says may work out in Scotland, but in any country or community where there are large numbers of Negroes, and especially in the Southern states, what Mr Lugard says implies not only a contradiction but an impossibility. **In fact, the bare possibility of two peoples enjoying "complete uniformity of ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive and equal admiration for those who achieve" depends upon the equality of human intercourse, upon "social equality," if you wish to call it by that term. If equal human intercourse is denied, the other equalities specified by Mr. Lugard cannot be realized.**

On the other hand, it can with equal truth be said that if "complete uniformity of ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunities for those who strive and equal admiration for those who achieve" are realized, equal human intercourse, or "social equality," if you wish to call it so, cannot be prevented.

There is the circle.

It may be that Mr. Harding was looking at the question as a statesman and diplomat rather than as a philosopher; that is, he was looking to the end rather than the means. If so, he reasons that if equality of political, educational and industrial opportunity can be secured for the Negro, other things will take care of themselves. But if he was talking as a philosopher, if he really believed that the Negro can be given political, educational, cultural and industrial opportunity and equality of admiration whenever he achieves and still be denied equal human intercourse, he was laboring under a delusion.

**If the things which Mr. Harding demanded for the Negro can be achieved in the South and in the United States while at the same time the Negro, either voluntarily or involuntarily, is solidified into a completely separate and distinct element in the nation, an element considered either too different or too inferior for common human association with the rest, it will entail the working of a miracle. Such a thing has not come to pass in the whole history of the human race.**

It seems that in developing his speech President Harding inadvertently betrays the illogic of such a supposition. Following the very paragraph in which he stresses this present, permanent and eternal difference between the two races, which must be fostered and maintained rather than diminished, he makes the following statement:

> "The one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been a time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the

Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on. But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunately found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has risen superior to every appeal to mere class and group."

We repeat, if President Harding made his speech as a statesman and a diplomat, using what he considered to be the best means for securing a result which he considered advantageous, there is little to quibble about in it. If on the other hand he spoke as a philosopher, expressing his own convictions on the race question and believing that definite results can be gained from tying two impossibilities together, his speech does not constitute any great contribution to the truth about the race problem.

We hope that the net result of the President's speech will be good, but there is grave danger in some of the things he said. We hope also that he was employing a stroke of diplomacy rather than expressing his philosophy on the question.

One glaring omission in the President's speech was his failure to say anything against lynching. His statement regarding party affiliations was not clear, but the implications are that the Republican party would not regret being freed from the embarrassment of Negro affiliation in the South. However, the Negro today is more interested in deeds than in words. If the President means well we shall expect him to translate his good intentions into deeds.

We shall watch!

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# President's Speech Indorses Lincoln Independent Movement

## REBUKES NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN SEARCY WHO IS TRYING TO "LINE UP BLACK MAN AS MERE POLITICAL ADJUNCT."

## MR. HARDING PRACTICALLY READS NEGRO OU TOF REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Louisville News — Ky. 10/29/21

In a most remarkable speech, President Harding, at Birmingham, Ala., in talking to thousands of white and Colored people, said the very things members of the Lincoln Independent Movement have been saying to Colored Louisville for the last two months.

Mr. Harding's speech was a practical indorsement of the Lincoln Independent Party. It was a rebuke to Mr. Chesley H. Searcy, National Committeeman from Kentucky, who recently declared, when told the intelligent respectable element of Colored people were tired and disgusted with certain policies and might get out a ticket of their own, "The Independent Party won't amount to a damn and I know Negroes better than you." The speech was a rebuke to Judge Quin and all the other Republican politicians who are trying by every method and in every manner to get the Negro vote in black and in mass.

And the speech was emphatically an order to the Negro to get out of the Republican party. He has become a "white man's burden" to that party in the South, where he cannot vote and Mr. Harding as head of the Republican Party is bidding for the white's man's vote in the South.

The speech is republished from the Louisville Evening Post. Every Colored man and woman with a speck of intelligence is urged to read it through and study it. If after doing so they do decide that it is up to them to vote the Lincoln Independent Party ticket, then Mr. Searcy was right when he said he "knew Negroes."

Read it and think—that's all. Think!

The President of the United States and National Head of the Republican Party, who advises "The Negro" to divide his vote and not vote "Republican" all the time. It is a practical indorsement of the Lincoln Independent Movement.

No Colored man or woman of intelligence or ordinary common sense can consistently vote for the Republican Party now. Let Colored Louisville be the first to take Mr. Harding's advice and cast 15,000 votes for the Lincoln Independent Party ticket.

For the sake of the Uncle Toms in the race it might be said this is good advice for a "white man said so."

PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING.

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CEDAR RAPIDS, IA., TIMES
OCTOBER 26, 1921

## HARDING A COURAGEOUS PRESIDENT

President Harding's voice rang clear and true Wednesday when he told the southern democrats that they must cease denying to the Negroes political and economic equality. They had cheered him when he had advised the Negroes to cease making efforts for social equality with the whites but to go ahead and develop a social standing of their own filled with traditions and with the pride of evolution and accomplishment. That can be done if the great work started by Booker Washington which is being continued by Laurance Jones and other leaders of the Negro in the south is encouraged and supported.

The Negro has made wonderful progress in economic equality and there is no reason why he should not attain full equality in business. Some members of the race already have done so.

The Negro has been denied political equality, but President Harding intimated that he will do his level best to see that these injustices shall cease. He rightly said that the south can never command the respect it ought to have as long as the white vote is all democratic and the black vote all republican. It would be much better if the vote was broken up and each member of both races allowed to vote according to his own political beliefs.

The white auditors heard this coldly, whereupon the president, instead of attempting to gloss them over and modify them, pointed straight at the white section and reiterated them with emphasis. That was characteristic of President Harding. He has the courage of his convictions. When congress was wabbling and scared, the president did not hesitate to say exactly what he thought about the soldiers' bonus bill. He did not hesitate to say just what he thought about the league of nations and the separate peace with Germany. He did not hesitate to say what he thought about the labor situation. He would neither coddle nor patronize it he said. "If necessary there are a lot of us who can put on the blue denims and go to work." Compare that with what was said a few years ago when the Adamson law was up.

He had the courage to call the conference for the reduction of armament, though there were many who were cold and not a few who were hostile. And because he has been so outspoken he stands much higher in the estimation of American citizens to-day than when he entered office.

(Editorials)

President Harding's Speech

Race Problem - 1921
United States

# PRESIDENT HARDING VS. PAT HARRISON

N. Y. Negro World 11/5/21

NOT since Col. Theodore Roosevelt declared nineteen years ago when Dr. Crum's appointment as Collector of Customs for Charleston, S. C., was hanging fire, that he would not shut the door of hope in the face of any man because of his color, has any American President uttered such pregnant and far-reaching words on the race question as did President Harding in Birmingham, Ala., on October 26. He declared unequivocally for educational and economical opportunities for the Negro and for the political rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution. President Harding recognized that this did not involve that the Negro be invited to the pink-tea functions, drawing-room receptions and bridge and whist parties of his Caucasian friends and neighbors.

Other presidents have given the Negro problem a lick and a promise and have handled it with kid gloves. But we do not recall any President of the United States or any American statesman since Charles Sumner who has discussed thoroughly every phase of the perplexed race problem, the educational, economic, political, social and world aspects, as has President Harding. And he did it not in Boston or New York, but in Birmingham, Ala. His comprehensive grasp of the varied aspects of the race question, his courage, frankness and sincerity stamps President Harding as a real statesman. Whether one agrees with everything President Harding says, everyone must admit that he seriously grappled with a delicate subject in a calm and dispassionate manner.

There was one point in which a student of psychology might ask for further light. President Harding said: "This is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental eternal and inescapable difference." The student of psychology would desire to know whether this means that the psychic difference between the Negro and Caucasian are so great that the Negro's mind functions differently from the Caucasian's mind, so that with the Caucasian two plus two equals four, while with the Negro two plus two equals five; whether this means that psychically the Negro is part human and part simian and is psychically more removed from the Caucasian than the Japanese, the Chinaman, the Hindoo and the Indian are; whether this means that the Negro's mind functions according to different psychological laws from the rest of mankind, and whether his body obeys different physiological laws, so that you must write out a new science of psychology, a new science of physiology and a new science of biology in order to understand the Negro?

We are all aware that different races have different psychic gifts The Semitic race manifested genius for religion; the Greek adaptability for literature, art and philosophy; the Romans a genius for law and administration; the Germans a genius for abstract speculation and scientific investigation; the French a genius for artistic and literary detail; the Anglo-Saxon a genius for law, perfecting machines and applying science to practical problems; the Hindoo a genius for abstract speculation, and the Negro a genius for music, eloquence and religion. And it would be well for the Negro to develop his peculiar psychic gifts and follow the dialectics of his own nature. But we do not believe that the Negro mind is so different from the Caucasion mind that it cannot master the science, the mathematics, the law, the language, music and philosophy of the Caucasian mind.

We can point to Amo in philosophy; Miguel Kapranzhe, Rev. Lemuel Haynes, Alexander Crummell and F. J. Grimke in theology; Banneker and Just in science; Dr. Derham and Dr. Daniel Williams in medicine; Dr. Bentley and Dr. Grant in dentistry; James Carmichael Smith, George W. Ellis and Archibald Grimke in political economy and sociology; Duse Mohamed, Dr. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson and Paul Lawrence Dunbar in literature; Coleridge Taylor in music; Henry O. Tanner in art; E. H. Morris; Prof. William H. H. Hart, Prof. W. H. Richards and Smithwick in law; Juan Latino, Capitein, Francis Williams, Edward Wilmot Blyden, President William S. Scarborough, Prof. Benj. Lightfoot, Oreshatukeh Faduma and Mr. Giles in language; Locke, the Rhodes scholar; Prof. Kelly Miller, and especially Robert T. Browne in mathematics. Calhoun questioned the Negro's ability to master Greek syntax. And lo! and behold Prof. Scarborough wrote a Greek textbook. Then they said the Negro could master Greek but not mathematics. Then Prof. Kelly Miller comes along and masters mathematics. Then they said the Negro could master mathematics but not write books on mathematics or invent anything. Then Granville Woods and Elijah McCoy pop up with numerous inventions; a Dutch Guiana Negro invents a shoe last; Lewis Latimer invents an incandescent lamp and an arc light, and John Turner of Boston invents a diving suit that breaks all records. And, best of all, Robert T. Browne of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes "The Mystery of Space, which deals with the fundamental conceptions of science and mathematics.

It seems to us that the Negro has been underrated intellectually. And when Ned Gourdin of Harvard broke the world's record in the running broad jump he but added to the athletic prestige of a race which produced such pugilists as Molyneaux, Peter Jackson, George Dixon, Joe Gans, Joe Wolcott, Sam Langford and Jack Johnson, and such athletes as Howard P. Drew, William H. Lewis, William C. Mathews and Williams. This is not intended as a criticism of President Harding's masterly address, but to prevent any one drawing false conclusions and corrollaries from it.

But these are academic questions which students of psychology, sociology and ethnology can thresh out. But the most suggestive paragraph in President Harding's address was when he said: "I can say to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of race is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is a problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state." This statement is such a clear recognition of the world aspects of the color question that no further comment is necessary.

## *PAT HARRISON*

But the most unique thing about President Harding's address is that it smoked out Southern statesmen and forced them to show their hand. When the late Senator Benjamin Tillman spoke in the North on the race question several years ago he closed some of his addresses by asking, "Do you want your daughter to marry a Nigger?" In the summer of 1907 former Senator Bailey of Texas stated that he felt himself superior to the Northern white man who regarded the Negro as his social equal. Thus the South has represented that it was very much disturbed and perturbed in mind over the question of social equality.

Then President Harding comes along and states flat footedly that he favors educational and economic and political opportunity for the Negro, but opposes social equality, amalgamation and intermarriage. One would suppose from this statement that the Southern statesmen would throw up their hats and hurrah. But Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, Senator Watson of Georgia, Senator McKellor of Tennessee and Senator Heflin of Alabama seemed dissatisfied. Senator Heflin said: "So far as the South is concerned we hold to the doctrine that God Almighty has fixed the limits and boundary lines between the two races, and no Republican living can improve upon His handiwork." Senator Pat Harrison said: "I believe in giving him (the Negro) every right under the law to which he is entitled, but to encourage the Negro, who in some States, as in my own, exceeds the white population, to strive through every political avenue to be placed upon an equality with the whites is a blow to the white civilization of this country that will take years to combat."

These statements show that the cry of social equality is a camouflage in the South and that the legal and political status of the Negro is the real issue. The greatest service of President Harding's memorable address is that it has brought to light the fact that the political and legal and not the social status of the Negro is the real issue in the sunny South.

In conclusion, we will say that while the Negro, like other races, has racial traits and racial gifts peculiar to himself alone, he is not such a freak of nature, such a monstrosity and such an exotic in modern civilization that no known psychological, physiological, physical, chemical and biological laws will account for him and explain him.

W. H. F.

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# Harding--Talker and Doer

The Houston Informer
10/29/1921

Speaking in Birmingham, "Alabam"—the very heart of "Bam"—President Warren G. Harding, Wednesday, startled and dumfounded his white auditors and electrified his colored constituents in his earnest plea for real democracy in the South.

Removing his gloves, the chief executive of this country urged the South to "lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms" and give support to a constructive policy of racial relationship and inter-racial amity and good-will.

Speaking at the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of Birmingham and after being honored, feted and applauded on all sides, President Harding had his hearers to know that there can be no double standard of citizenship in this country and the republic survive.

Noticing that his white auditors were as silent as the sphinx as he opened his speech pleading for justice, a fair and square deal for the black man, the president exclaimed: **"Whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality."**

There is quite a contrast in Harding the "talker" and Harding the "doer," as shown in his public declarations and state messages and his official actions.

Repeatedly the president has publicly declared and pleaded for exact justice and equality for the black man throughout America and yet his official actions to hasten this longed-for day have been of a very negative nature.

The Informer does not assume this position as a chronic knocker, neither because colored federal appointments have been few and far between; but because men are known, judged and rated by their acts rather than their words.

It was a courageous act, an unprecedented speech coming from a president, an epochal occasion and all that, and it required no little fortitude and stamina to say what President Harding uttered and where he proclaimed it; but when we see his equivocating, palliating, compromising and vacillating attitude and action in matters directly affecting the colored group, we are forced to exclaim what we said last fall after his speech in Oklahoma City: "What manner of man is this?"

His Birmingham speech possessed the ring of true Americanism and a real democracy can not exist unless his doctrines and preachments are put into execution throughout the country.

The question naturally arises: Will President Harding, himself and his party chieftains, lead the way in ushering in this new and imperative day in our American life?

His reference to standing "uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality" will appeal perhaps, to the South; but we fear he confused "social equality" with "social intermingling." There is a vast difference between the two.

If the country, and especially the South, will heed and put into execution President Harding's timely and sagacious advice as outlined in his "Bam" address, there will be a radical change in this country for the good of the entire citizenry.

Drawing lines of demarcation on account of color, creed or class is fundamentally and diametrically at variance with the honored tenets, traditions, principles and preachments of Americanism, is a criminal assault upon democracy, and a mockery at and travesty upon justice.

The president is precisely right in his viewpoint, spoken; his actions will be a horse of another color.

We have heard much of and from President Harding the "talker;" now let us see something tangible, definite and constructive from President Harding the "doer." Amen!

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## HARDING ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

In one of the clearest and most comprehensive speeches which has been given recently in this country, President Harding declared yesterday that the American Negro is entitled to broader political, economic and educational advantages, but that "men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality." His speech was a sane and scholarly plea for more consideration of the Negro by the white people, but he was clear and positive in declaring that the Negro "should seek to be, and should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

PEORIA ILL JOURNAL
OCTOBER 27, 1921

The president quoted at length Mr. F. D. Lugard and Mr. Lathrop Stoddard, stating that he held views which these two writers have written. It is also equally as clear, although he did not mention it, that practically all that he said on the race problem was in harmony with the opinions of Booker T. Washington, the great Negro leader who did more for his race than any man, with the exception of Lincoln. In hundreds of addresses and in many of his written articles, Mr. Washington pleaded with the Negroes to be good Negroes, and not attempt either to supplant the white man or attain his social station. The Negro differs from the white man in tradition, in origin, in history, and in race—and the Negro race will accomplish the most by developing as a Negro race and not in trying to pattern after the whites or in banishing what the president calls "a fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference."

The race problem will always be a problem in the United States. But it will cease to have any serious aspects as soon as the people of both races come to the opinions which the president has so clearly outlined. Each race misinterprets the other. The whites have failed to give the Negro his rights in many communities and has often failed to give him equal opportunities for education and for a proper place in the economic and political sphere. The Negro, on the other hand, has too insistently demanded things which can never be his, and some of the strongest Negro leaders of today are guiding their people along the wrong path by a sort of pessimism which Booker T. Washington claimed was the Negro's chief handicap.

If W. E. B. DuBois, the great leader of the Negro race and recognized as a thinker and as a writer of power, could accept the principles as given by President Harding, and if he and other leaders could preach those principles, instead of stirring up animosities by demanding social equality, the Negro would advance faster and would more quickly materialize a worthy ambition.

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TOPEKA KAN CAPITAL
OCTOBER 29, 1921

At Birmingham the President made a courageous speech with a kick in it, when he told the South that however necessary it may be to protect itself from Negro social equality, political, industrial and economic equality must be conceded to the colored citizen. In place of bragging about what the Republican party has done for the colored man (which would be hard to name, since the emancipation proclamation) he warned Republicans to quit playing politics on this matter and to see that the Negro's right to live and to enjoy life is protected. It is not protected in a number of states. The old fashioned element in the South may have been amazed by the President's speech, but he gave it something to think about.

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DAVENPORT IA DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## REASON VS. PREJUDICE.

President Harding made his visit to Birmingham the occasion of a sensible address on the problems of the South—among the most difficult of which is the race problem. Amalgamation and social equality, the president says, is impossible, and no more desirable under the circumstances, from the standpoint of the black than of the white. The president is right also when he says that, from the country's standpoint, a solid Democratic South and a solid Republican Negro population are neither of them essential or desirable. When reason rather than prejudice rules the decision of every voter, it will be a fine thing for the nation, and Democrats as well as Republicans will be glad to abide by the result.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

# Political Equality

**(By WM. PICKENS for the Associated Negro Press.)**

Houston Tex. Informer

11/12/21

Everybody who knows us Southerners well, know that "social equality" is just a smoke screen behind which we seek to hide our attack on all sorts of equality and opportunity for the Negro race. We are not afraid of social aggression. We can keep Negroes and even poor whites out of our homes, away from our tables, and out of all social contact with us. We have plenty of law to help us do that. But we find it inconvenient to make a direct assault against the Negro's right to vote, to hold office, to work, to own property anywhere, to be respected as a man and to live free,—and so we make the attack behind this age-old smoke screen, and we generally get away with it.

But when somebody stands up in a prominent place and unmasks us by saying: "All right. You can have social isolation among the races. You can be a race all by yourself. The law will not compel you to marry anybody else,—not even to marry at all, if you don't want to. But other peoples must also have their economic, political, and other human rights. They must be allowed to work and hold property; to vote and hold office." When someone whose position in the nation or in the world is so prominent that we must pay attention, says a thing like this,—then we Southerners say what the Savannah, Ga., editor said next day: "Political equality and social equality are one and the same thing," or words to that effect.

And so the South shouts back that if Negroes vote, they will hold office and power, and that office means social recognition. But just how far is this so? Because the sheriff is the chief political officer of a county, must he therefore have social recognition in private? No. He must have political-social recognition as head of the county forces. Just so, too, with the mayor of a town. He is the "social" head of the town as a town, and when General Pershing or Marshal Foch pays a visit to that town, he must do the honors. But nobody needs to make a private friend out of him for that reason. In fact, there are sheriffs and mayors who have such awful reputations that it would disgrace any family to see him coming out of their private doors. I would venture the assertion that if a Negro were mayor of Birmingham, Ala., no white person there would give him social recognition, just as no Negro now gives the white mayors any social recognition. Colored people do not feel that because mayors are white, they must therefore be burdened with the presence of a white man at their teas and dances. But when they invite the mayor to come and open their county fairs, they let him ride in the best carriage and sit in the chief seat, and otherwise render him political and pseudo-social recognition as a superior.

To be frank: What the great majority of us Southerners want, is not a separate Negro, but a Negro under. And if you force us to tell you that, why—er—we'll have to tell you.

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## HARDING'S MASTER STROKE

N. Y. News 11/5/21

President Harding made an epoch making speech in Birmingham on last Tuesday when he commanded the American people to give Afro-Americans political, economic and educational equality. He fed the South poitical pap when he declared his opposition to the straw man of social equality. He did a hazardous thing which the situation justified when he inveighed against the solid Democratic South which makes the solid Republican Black vote. His plea against social equality and against the solid Democratic South and Black votes has beclouded the issue of his speech in the minds of many thoughtful men, but a second thought and the tides of time will dispel that cloud and the speech will stand forth as the most helpful and wholesome political utterance of the decade in America. The declaration of the diplomat of the White House was first of all the bravest thing in point of place and circumstance that could be conceived, that the President of the United States has taken occasion to declare at this time for the political and economic equality of Black Americans makes that issue the dominant issue of the Nation's domestic life and sets that issue upon the high road to solution. It may open up, as say the timid color cowards and time-serving politicians, a pandora's box of political discussion, but the fiat of America's Executive is the straw that points the way of the wind that says once again "that no issue is ever settled until it is settled right," and that this is the right solution of the problem of the races in America. There can no longer be room for doubt concerning the race policy of the President. At one fell swoop he waves aside the suspicions and fears of America that he had sided with the "Lily Whites," who planned with his apparent sanction, the political serfdom of ten million loyal Americans. On the eve of the World's Disarmament Congress, he notifies Japan and all the nations of mankind that race equality is not a domestic issue in America, and is, accordingly, eliminated from consideration and discussion at that Congress. The masterly address of President Harding was a repetition of the declaration of Abraham Lincoln, when the great Emancipator declared that, because he did not want a Black woman for a wife, he did not have to have her as a slave, and when he again declared that he would save the Union with or without slavery.

It is a repetition of the Atlanta Exposition speech of Booker T. Washington, when the great Black leader declared that in things purely social we could be as separate as the fingers, but in all things of mutual concern we should be one as the hand. Lincoln, Washington and Harding cut the ground from under the propagandists of the South, who plans today, as they planned then, to keep the Black race in subjection and slavery through ignorance and race prejudice. We shall expect the President to make his political deeds square with his creed in the recognition in the way of appointments to office and in the protection of the ballots of Black Americans as equal Americans. We again say that President Harding's speech at Birmingham was a masterpiece of political diction, political strategy and political progress.

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## PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE NEGRO

Christian Recorder

Philadelphia Pa.

11/3/21

Perhaps the most important statement ever issued or uttered by a President of the United States since the days of Lincoln, was that delivered on Wednesday of last week by President Harding at Birmingham, Ala., in which the President came out squarely for economic, educational and political opportunity for the colored people, but expressed himself as opposed to social equality and in favor of each race developing along the lines of natural segregation. He also stated that he believed that the colored men should seek to "develop into the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man; that the racial amalgamation should not be."

Now, there will be varying expressions of opinions regarding the speech of Mr. Harding. We are sure that there will not be unanimity among the whites. In fact, just as soon as the speech was made public, Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and Senator Tom Watson of Georgia, came out with denunciatory statements against the President's attitude. And we are sure there will be no unanimous opinion among our people.

11/3/21

As a philosophical statement of the race problem, President Harding is far from right, and many will criticize him for an expression which is far below the ideal of this republic, philosophically speaking, and some will say that it would have been better for him to have kept his mouth closed, than to have assented to such a low ideal. For any analysis of his speech will show a very decided philosophical fallacy. There cannot be "educational, political and economical opportunity" on the one hand, and "absolute divergence in things social and racial" on the other. This is almost the same doctrine which Dr. Booker T. Washington preached at the Atlanta Exposition in the 90's, and which the South so greatly lauded, but which has been time and time again shown to be philosophically inaccurate.

But as a statement of a program for present action, President Harding's speech deserves more consideration, and coming from the President of the United States spoken in the South among the white people of that country, it is a remarkable address. For the President to advocate economic, political and educational opportunity, is a very remarkable thing; that he does not advocate social equality, and that he seems not to condemn segregation merely marks him as a typical American white man.

Now, as to *Educational Opportunity*, it can be measured and is definite. The South today is committing a great crime against the black man, in that it taxes him equally and does not give him equal oportunity to use taxes for education. In some places it takes $1.00 to educate the colored child, to $15.00 to educate a white child. We understand President Harding to advocate that there should be an equal opportunity for the colored man and the white man, and that if the state spends $15.00 for a white child, it should spend $15.00 for a colored child; or that he may mean by his idea of natural segregation that the $15.00 spent in the white school for white children, will be spent in a school taught by whites, and the $15.00 spent for colored will be spent in a colored school taught by colored. We also understand this: that in places where the industry is chiefly agricultural the colored child will have as much opportunity as the white child to learn the science of agriculture. As to *Political Equality*, we understand him to mean that if the colored man is fit to vote, he shall be permitted to vote. If the white man is fit to vote, he shall be permitted to vote; if he is not fit, he shall not be permitted to vote; and upon the same basis, white and colored alike be treated. As to *Economic Opportunity*, there should be equality of pay for the same kind of work. The Negro who can lay as many brick in the same time as the white bricklayer should get the same money. A Negro farmer who raises the same kind of crops as a white farmer raises should receive the same for it. Opportunities for promotion should be the same for Negroes as they are for whites. That in everything where a Negro spends his money, he should get what he pays for. If he pays first class fare on a railroad, he should get first class accommodations. If he is able to pay for a sleeping car or dining car privileges, he should get them. Whatever the Negro is able to pay for in the line of civic and economic service that should be his. This we understand by economic opportunities.

The Negro should be permitted to develop banks and business houses, factories and mills, cities and towns, and he should be permitted to take part in the government, not only by voting, but by becoming officers of the law, serving on the jury, and even judge of the court, and anything else he can be elected to.

Now that the President says that he wants no social equality, he is saying what very sensible Negro says. Social equality is non-existent among white, it cannot therefore be existent among colored. When a colored man votes or goes to college or enters into economic competition as a laborer or builds up business, it does not mean that he wants to marry a white man's daughter, or that he wants to be accepted among white people as their social equal. He is laboring for economic and educational and political equality, not social. Prof. Starr of the University of Chicago, speaking of feminine beauty, said the other day, that there are very few beautiful women among the American white people, and pointed to the Liberian women and the black women of Africa as examples of rare personal beauty. Negro men do not have to go outside their race for the best types of beauty, and when our men have educational, industrial and political equality there will not only be no need for them to want so-called "social equality" with white people, but we shall develop a society of our own, as we are now doing which will be equal if not superior to theirs. Even now the facts are that white people are far more anxious for social equality with us than we are with them, for the very laws of nearly every state in the South are so framed as to encourage the mixture of races, and when a Southern white man pretends he does not want social equality, and racial miscegenation he knows usually that he is a hypocrite, for he does not raise his voice against the laws which encourage miscegenation.

What we want to do is to develop self-respect and contentment among our own people for their own social intercourse, which we are making more and more refined each year, to insist that we have the chance to make the money to support our families on an equal plane with white people, that have the opportunity to give our people same education and that we have the s participation in our government to pro our interests. This given the other will t care of itself.

Nor do we object so much to what President said about natural lines of seg gation, because we recognize that there natural lines, that the fundamental law nature is that "birds of a feather will f together," and that there is a "conscio ness of kind" among different groups. T has been and always will be. Two be different without either being inferi The only time we object to natural seg gation is when a larger group attempts dictate because of its superior numbers w these lines of segregation are. The difficu with American public opinion is that mer because there are more white people in t country than black, not because they ha more character or more brain, they ha insisted upon determining what these li of demarkation are, and they have declar a kind of segregation contrary to what t law of God and nature is. These artific lines must be entirely wiped out. If th have made a line that a man can or mu pay for certain service, but cannot have because he is colored, the economic law w finally wipe that line of demarkation out, just as the line which made some persons to be slaves while others were free, has been wiped out.

So we do not have any fear about these artificial lines of demarkation and segregation, which puerile man sets up. They will be knocked down sooner or later.

We must not put too much emphasis upon the President's speech. It cannot do us much harm and cannot do us much good. Our trust is in ourselves. Unless we wake up to our economic opportunities and demand them, we cannot do much. The President's speech may do something to help crystalize opinion among white people, that they ought to give more justice to colored people—an opinion that is gradually growing among white people all over the country. It will also have the opposite effect of bringing more white people into the Republican party, and setting some against us, but in the end our destiny is in our own hands, not President Harding's.

Our personal view is that the speech is a good one. But we must judge more by what Presiding Harding does rather than what he says. He has a splendid chance to insist upon political opportunity—will he deny what he asks others to give? He can do a great deal for better educational advantages. The United States Government now controls great educational machinery throughout the South, created by the Morrill bill, the Smith-Lever bill, the Smith-Hughes laws, etc. It is notorious that the Negro is not getting a square deal in the educational field, not only from Southern States but from the United States of which Mr. Harding is president. The national government can do much if Mr. Harding says so, and insists, in the economic field, by giving Negro farmers better opportunities for financing and a thousand other ways in which the Negro has not had a square deal. So we say w shall watch to see what Mr. Harding *does* for he can do more than any one man in th country.

Meanwhile, let us remember our fate is i our own hands. Let us organize, organize, organize, our politics, our money, our religion, our labor.

Race Problem-1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

## THE RACE QUESTION

ABERDEEN WASH. WORLD
OCTOBER 27, 1921

President Harding's address at Birmingham yesterday on the negro question was a plain utterance unusual and admirable for its frankness and courageous because of its setting in an important southern city. The President could have slighted the race issue in his address. He could have confined himself to flattery of Birmingham on the occasion of its semi-centennial and indulged in all the meaningless phrases generally indulged in on such occasion. Instead he used the opportunity to talk plainly to the South and the nation on a matter of the sharpest controversy—scarcely any dispute can be sharper than the race question.

The negro, said Mr. Harding, can't have social equality. And that's the fact. If it could be recognized it would remove most of the difficulty. But social equality is what is meant when the negro talks of "racial equality." Social equality is the mainspring of the negro's particular crime against the whites and resistance to the aspiration for social equality is almost as much the cause of lynchings as the crime itself.

Political, economic and industrial equality stand on another basis. It is true these have been denied the negro. He is disfranchised in the South. The President thinks that if the black is to be disfranchised so should the white man who is not fit to vote. In theory that is correct, in practice it does not work. Who is fit to vote? The constitution defines an age requirement and a citizenship requirement, and nothing else now. Disabilities because of race and sex have been removed. Only the disability of a penitentiary sentence remains. Unless a new test is to be applied—an educational test perhaps—the white man, however unfit, is going to vote and the black will be denied the right wherever the whites are strong enough in their control of political machinery to do so.

If, further, we are going to make fitness a test of voting we shall have to change our system. We shall need to quit democracy and establish a limited republic. That can't be done, though it still remains true that no democracy can succeed that is not based on a high average of intelligence and education.

Mr. Harding would have the negro develop as a negro with a pride in his race. He should not, said the President, seek to become a poor imitation of a white man. That puts the negro's destiny in his own hands. A study of him in his native haunts in Africa as related by Hans Coudenhove in an interesting series in the Atlantic Monthly does not indicate that he has done much for his own development when left to himself or that he is capable of doing much. True, his opportunity in America is much better than in African wilds, but barring comparatively few individual exceptions, it cannot be said that the negro on the average has advanced much in America during the more than half century since his emancipation from slavery. Fifty years, of course, is a moment only in the life of a race, but whether the negro can evolve very much farther than he has so far is a serious question to the mind of every student of ethnology.

Mr. Harding says the negro question is a national one, and so it is. The solution for it has not been found, however. The President does not offer one. He furnishes a theory sound in ethics but so far incapable of translation into fact. That is one reason among others why this Pacific Coast objects so strongly to the colonization here of the Japanese. They bring with them a race problem. This country has one unsolved race problem in the negro; it should not permit another to be saddled onto it.

The negro should have a fair deal. It is trite to say that he does not get it, and it is just about as trite to say that he cannot get it so long as the whites predominate. Right or wrong, that is the plain fact.

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## President's View of American Negro's Future.

NEWARK N J EVE NEWS
OCTOBER 28 1921

On no other basis is the President's speech at Birmingham understandable than as a bold bid to split the Solid South by the creation of a powerful Republican party organization under white leadership. It is a full half-century since the negro has been enfranchised, at least in theory, and Mr Harding is the first Republican President in all that time to handle the race question without gloves. He went into the political "enemy's country" and had his say fearlessly, "whether you like it or not."

It is of record that his colored hearers in the audience at Woodrow Wilson Park cheered wildly while the whites were silent, or at most perfunctory in their applause. But within a few days the colored race will be beginning, on second thought, to ask itself what there was to cheer about. For whatever else he did and whatever else he may have had in mind, the President clearly and unmistakably showed that he expected the negro through the long years to continue to bear the stamp of social inferiority. This may have been the settled conviction of his Republican predecessors in the Executive office, but it is a view to which no previous standard bearer of the party of emancipation has given public utterance.

For both races, in his address, the President insisted upon equal educational and economic opportunity, an equality that generally speaking is non-existent south of the Mason and Dixon line. What had he to say about political equality in a sta that disfranchises a vast majority of negroes and is one of a solid block of t states in which the practice is general?

Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitation of the individual's opportunity, provided there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence of things social and racial.

What does this mean, unless it is that if the negro will "keep in his place" he may count upon some of the rewards of service in a Republican organization, or, for that matter, a Democratic organization of white leadership? But the negro must remember, in Mr. Harding's words, that 'racial amalgamation there can not be.' ays Mr. Harding of the franchise: "I would et the black man vote when he is fit to vote; rohibit the white man from voting when he unfit to vote."

Half a century ago the party of which r. Harding is the Chief Exemplar was sayg: "Let the black man vote now." The question of fitness was not uppermost until after President Hayes had withdrawn the bayonet support of the carpet bagger. What does the President mean? Is he willing to tolerate partial disfranchisement that flouts the Fifteenth Amendment in order that he may make Republicans of leading men in the South, or has he in mind educational or property qualifications honestly determined, which will raise the standards of the elec-

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CEDAR FALLS IA RECORD
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## PRESIDENT HARDING AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Southerners hold different opinions of negroes than Northerners, and Southern negroes are different from the Northern. The Northern negro disdains to go South, except on a brief visit. The Southern negro becomes another person after he lives a while in the North; in fact, he changes as he journeys north. Do these and several score more anomalies imply that the negro is misunderstood, and, in truth, does not understand himself?

The status and welfare of the negro are big problems among the biggest that must be solved. It is well that President Harding, in his speech at Birmingham, discussed frankly a few of the fundamentals of these problems. We must give them much serious thought.

The negro has no apparent justification of any kind to aspire to social equality with the white race. Such an assumption is preposterous. On the other hand, he must be regarded as a human being with a free will and moral responsibility, and the right of pursuit of happiness. How shall his destiny as a human being, be determined? This is one of our most important questions. We may get the answer as an inspiration.

torate, white and black, by making it intelligent and with a stake in the community? Would he say the same thing in his own Ohio?

These are questions that, unless he makes haste to answer them, may return to plague the President as a party man. He showed clearly enough in his address, particularly in his inveighing against too fa[illegible] a sort of education for everybody and hi[illegible] warning to the South that restricted immig[illegible]n might make it a bidder against the [illegible]th and West for its own negro labor, [illegible] for a long time to come he looked to [illegible] colored race in this country to continue largely in the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Differences of opinion are bound to be manifest as to the breadth of statesmanship shown in the President's utterance at Birmingham. A good many will be glad to see him out in the open, admitting that there is a nation-wide negro problem that calls for solution elsewhere than in the ballot box, and insisting that while the races may achieve a parallel civilization side by side the racial line is not to be crossed and social equality is taboo.

When he asks for a deepened race consciousness by the negro under leadership of his own race the President, in a speech whose aims are primarily partizan, is bidding 10,000,000 of his fellow Americans to keep ever in their minds the realization that they are with but not of the 97,000,000 others. From a strictly partizan standpoint the reaction to this in states like Ohio, the President's own, where the negroes hold the balance of power, is a thing to be dreaded. There is reason for pondering, too, its effect in New York and in certain of the old border states of North and South.

The President's "wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up" will find an echoing response in the hearts of members of both parties. But any attempt or pretense by the Republicans to wash their hands of the negro, as such, as a political asset is fraught with risk.

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CEDAR RAPIDS, IA., TIMES
OCTOBER 27. 1921

### HARDING A COURAGEOUS PRESIDENT

President Harding's voice rang clear and true Wednesday when he told the southern democrats that they must cease denying to the Negroes political and economic equality. They had cheered him when he had advised the Negroes to cease making efforts for social equality with the whites but to go ahead and develop a social standing of their own filled with traditions and with the pride of evolution and accomplishment. That can be done if the great work started by Booker Washington which is being continued by Laurance Jones and other leaders of the Negro in the south is encouraged and supported.

The Negro has made wonderful progress in economic equality and there is no reason why he should not attain full equality in business. Some members of the race already have done so.

The Negro has been denied political equality, but President Harding intimated that he will do his level best to see that these injustices shall cease. He rightly said that the south can never command the respect it ought to have as long as the white vote is all democratic and the black vote all republican. It would be much better if the vote was broken up and each member of both races allowed to vote according to his own political beliefs.

The white auditors heard this coldly, whereupon the president, instead of attempting to gloss them over and modify them, pointed straight at the white section and reiterated them with emphasis. That was characteristic of President Harding. He has the courage of his convictions. When congress was wabbling and scared, the president did not hesitate to say exactly what he thought about the soldiers' bonus bill. He did not hesitate to say just what he thought about the league of nations and the separate peace with Germany. He did not hesitate to say what he thought about the labor situation. He would neither coddle nor patronize it he said. "If necessary there are a lot of us who can put on the blue denims and go to work." Compare that with what was said a few years ago when the Adamson law was up.

He had the courage to call the conference for the reduction of armament, though there were many who were cold and not a few who were hostile. And because he has been so outspoken he stands much higher in the estimation of American citizens to-day than when he entered office.

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OCTOBER 27, 1921

### THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

While it can not be said that President Harding, in his speech yesterday at Birmingham, made any important contribution to the solution of the race problem, he nevertheless did say some things that greatly needed to be said — and with entire frankness, and even bluntness. Perfect equality before the law, equality in politics, equality in economic opportunity were urged by the President as essential. But he opposed the doctrine of social equality, and argued that the races should develop each on its own line, saying that the negro ought to be something more than an "imitation white man." Colored men who were qualified to vote should be permitted to do so, and to white men who are not qualified the ballot should be denied.

In the matter of voting, there is no good reason why the south should be solidly Democratic, or the negroes solidly Republican. The President said:

> Just as I do not wish the south to be politically entirely one party; just as I believe that it is bad for the south, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic south and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of people will in the long run prosper our country.

Mr. Harding appealed to his own party to desist from demagogy in making the negro a mere adjunct of Republicanism. Perhaps the gist of yesterday's speech may be found in these words.

> With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of the superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that wil deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the south understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of politica solidarity.

Finally the President spoke strongly of the necessity for education though he would not "attempt to educate people, whether white or black, into something they are no fitted to be." The speaker had "no sympathy with the half-baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color, and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manual work of a workaday world." The speech is in excellent spirit and temper, and altogether sensible. It ought to have a good effect.

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KANSAS CITY MO STAR
OCTOBER 28, 1921

### HARDING IN THE SOUTH.

The visit of President Harding t Birmingham and Atlanta has not only called forth a display of the unfailing hospitality of the South, but has revealed that in matters which are really essential, or which relate to the country as a whole, both partisan and sectional lines may fade away in a feelin of cordiality, friendship and willing cooperation. In both these cities, and i others along the route of the chie executive, there was keen anticipation of his visit for weeks ahead, and every possible preparation was made to th end that a distinguished guest might b properly welcomed—and heard.

The nature of President Harding's reception in the South recalls the pleasant circumstances of visits or sojourns in that part of the country of former Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. But it is particularly interesting that a President may go into the heart of the only section that voted almost solidly against him less than a year ago and declare that it would be a wholesome thing if the long standing political alignment of that section should be broken up, both as it relates to the whites and the blacks, and that the negro ought to have an equal chance educationally, economically and politically with the white man.

Sound doctrine this, of course. But so much depends in such cases upon the tact and the liberal mindedness with which such views are put forward. President Harding must have realized when he was speaking on the so-called race problem that he was meeting the requirements of the condition, for the press account states that the "address "was driven home with vigorous gesture "and deliberate utterance, such as Mr "Harding seldom has employed since he "became chief executive." A further explanation of this situation is that the President doubtless realized he was speaking not to a gathering of white and black citizens of Birmingham, but to the people of both races of the entire country.

One is reminded of the apparently anomalous situation a few years ago when large numbers of white people in the South not only paid a liberal admission fee to hear Booker T. Washington tell them what their attitude ought to be toward the negro, but shared with the negroes the hall in which the distinguished leader of his race was speaking.

There is hope in these circumstances; hope not only with reference to a final adjustment of racial differences, but with reference to a just and peaceful settlement of other vital questions that come to the attention of all the stat

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WASHINGTON D C PATHFINDER
NOVEMBER 12, 1921

### Harding Pleads for Negro Rights

President Harding recently made swing around through the South, an while there he expressed some views that have caused a good deal of discussion. At Birmingham, Ala., he made an earnest appeal for harmony and cooperation between the whites and the negroes, so that the country might have "the full measure of usefulness of both." The race problem, he pointed out, is a worldwide one, and we can't evade it by ignoring it.

He urged the people of the South to tackle their problems courageously so that they may assume a fuller share in the policies and the prosperity of the nation. The North and West, he said, are bound to attract colored labor from the South, and if the South wants to keep this labor and benefit by it it must treat the negro fairly.

But this does not mean, he assured them, that there is to be a social equality or amalgamation between the races; here it is proper that there should be a line of distinction. But there should be economic, political, religious and educational equality; this was to the interest of both races and the whole country. The South, he warned, cannot afford to make itself "a reservoir of ignorance"; both blacks and whites must have the benefits of education. He condemned the idea of the South being always solidly Democratic, and also of the negroes always voting the Republican ticket. Public policies should not be decided along race lines, he said, but each idea and each candidate should be judged on their merits. "Let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit," he urged.

He paid a tribute to the nobility of work—and especially manual labor. "Usefulness of service, rather than spotlessness of hands" should be the test of a person's value to the world; and we should "raise honest, hard toil to a new dignity." If we will only pull together along these high lines, we shall solve the great problems that [illegible] us, he declared.

The president's can[illegible] words w[illegible] received in some quarters with str[illegible] approval and in others with resentment. Senator Watson of Ga. said he had no business to go into the South and "lecture the people on how to treat the negroes." Senator Harrison of Miss. said it was "a blow to the white civilization that will take years to combat."

Senator Willis of Ohio on the contrary praised the president for having the courage to tell the people things which they knew to be facts and which would remain facts no matter how much they might wish them to be otherwise. Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, also commended the president. His message would be approved by every intelligent white person in the South, and it was just what he himself had been telling the South for a generation, he said.

Race Problem - 1921
United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

## PRESIDENT HARDING IN BIRMINGHAM.

The Montgomery Advertiser
10/28/21

Because, as the press dispatches say, the crowd received coldly the President's declaration at Birmingham on the race question, is no reason to believe that President Harding was not warmly and at times enthusiastically greeted in his triumphal progress through Birmingham Wednesday.

The crowd was, perhaps, the greatest that Birmingham had ever entertained; the presence of the President made the fiftieth birthday of Birmingham the greatest day in its history. The huge crowd was very cordial to the Chief Executive. He is a fine, up-standing figure of a man, and thoroughly human. His personality makes a most favorable impression not only upon the individual, but upon the crowds which see him. He looks the part of the President—he is the sort of man that the mass of the people believe should be President. He has been underrated as a public speaker. He has the fire and intentness which the true public speaker should have, and a resonant voice that carries far. True enough, he does not fashion phrases like Woodrow Wilson, or Theodore Roosevelt, but there is soundness in his speech, even though he does not successfully avoid the use of platitudes.

His declaration on the race question at the Wilson Park exercises has drawn more attention than it deserves. Yet, he undoubtedly intended to make a positive and direct statement on that question, which has now become, "not merely a Southern question, but a National question as well." When we come to realize it, it is very difficult for a Northern man to talk to a Southern audience on the race question; it is particularly difficult when that man happens to be President of the United States and a Republican.

There was nothing new in his presentation of the race question; there can be nothing new said on it. For sixty years this country has mulled over the problem of two diverse and not always harmonious races living on the same soil and participating in the same industrial civilization. Any man who thinks he has a brand new idea or theory will find, if he devotes a little more study to the subject, that that same idea or theory was brought forward years ago, and opposed or favored by one faction or another.

The racial problem was left unaltered and unaffected by the President's declarations. If his utterances had been the height of human wisdom, the race problem would have been unchanged. The well-known common sense for which President Harding is known was napping when he reopened the old, old question with an old, old idea. As the leader of the Republican party he merely restated the position of the Republican party on the negro. Of course, even the Republicans have learned from experience, their position has been greatly modified, but time and human nature have rendered verdicts against them.

Since the speech revived the old issue, since it reopened an old acrimonious division, and since the extremists in the South on the race question are having their say, it must be considered unfortunate that the President stirred up the veritable porcupine of a question. And, to what end? The two races put side by side by destiny, will go on, and the white man, jealous of his racial integrity, will dominate the Government and civilization which he himself builded. The Republican party, immediately after the war, was eternally and everlastingly wrong on the negro question. Yet, notwithstanding the failures which the Republicans themselves admit, they still attack the question in a theoretical method, entirely unrelated to actualities. In the meanwhile, all heat and noise on the race issue is futile. It is pleasanter to remember that the visit to Birmingham gave an outward evidence of the very sincere personal friendship between President Harding and his Birmingham guide, Senator Underwood. The two men have known each other and respected each other for many years. Out of that association and that respect have come a very sincere confidence and appreciation of each other. The President had manifested his esteem for Senator Underwood long before he named him on the conference for the limitation of armaments; Senator Underwood was his "pair" when either was away from the Senate. The President the other day surprised the State by appointing Bob Mangum postmaster at Selma, one of the few first-class postoffices in the State. The President did not make a Democrat postmaster of Selma because he had pretty eyes, or because he makes a rattling good speech. He did not even appoint him because he will make Selma an excellent postmaster. He was the friend of Oscar Underwood, and he had directed the primary campaign of Oscar Underwood for re-election, and President Harding was in Birmingham because Senator Underwood urged him to come. Differing with the President as Senator Underwood does, on fundamental party questions, they are yet broad enough men to appreciate the sturdy manhood of each other. It is a pity the President did not show Senator Underwood that speech on the race question before he delivered it. The Alabama Senator who had had that question thrust before him from every angle, and who, like every other Southern man, has heard it exhaustively argued, and who knew that the arguers always came out of the same hole they went in, would have tactfully suggested changes in that speech which would have prevented the little excitement which has followed its delivery.

The President was the central figure at a stirring little entertainment at the Tutwiler, arranged by Collector of Internal Revenue John D. McNeel, and the newspaper men of Birmingham. The crowd was very small and the President talked very frankly and interestingly of the heaviness of the job which he had undertaken. There were some things, he said, which he preferred not to have printed and he asked that nobody present take note of what he was saying and that none of it be printed. The President was not weary of his job; he knew in a general way what it was when he took it, and he is still vastly pleased that he got the job.

Notwithstanding the frequent vacations which he religiously takes, the strain of the job is telling on him. He looked a little worn and tired, in spite of his robustness and physical vigor. But he had endured the trials of an exhausting day, during which he was continually on parade and on which he made five separate speeches. They say that the Presidency in modern days will break down any man who undertakes it. It is small wonder that this is true, if Wednesday was the sample of a day in the life of a President.

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GALVESTON, TEXAS, NEWS
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## THE PRESIDENT ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

There will be none to doubt that the president meant to be helpful to the South in saying what he did at Birmingham on the subject of the race problem. Sectional prejudice is a vice which none will impute to him. But that what he said will be helpful can not, unhappily, be the judgment of anyone who ponders his words.

There are several passages in the president's address to which it will not be easy to fix a precise meaning. But however obscure and elusive these may be, there can be no mistaking the tenor of the president's deliverance. He was inspired, it is manifest, by the belief that the negroes are the victims of injustices and oppressions which it is the right of the nation to redress if the South shall fail in its duty to do so. From this central idea the South will dissent in the belief that it is unwarranted by the facts; and not only will it dissent from it, but it will protest against the dissemination of it because of its mischievous possibilities.

Upon the negro the president puts the injunction of renouncing all thought of social equality with the whites. It is an easy injunction, since the desire for social equality is not an aspiration of the negro race. Upon the whites the president puts the much heavier injunction of according equality to the negroes in politics, industry, education and in all cultural pursuits. To the word equality he gives no metes and bounds of meaning, and probably for the reason that he intends to invoke for the negro the right of undiscriminating fellowship in all the relations of life save the social. Unless he meant the injunction which he put upon the white people of the South to have that unlimited scope, his declaration is without meaning.

That that is an injunction to which the South will not bow even at the behest of the president hardly needs statement. The white people of the South are conscious and confident of an unmeasurable superiority, and so long as they remain so they will not accord equality to the negroes to anything like the extent which the president claims for them. About the only effect that can be produced by the president's assertion of their right to that kind of equality will be the unhappy one of disturbing the peaceful relations which subsist between the two races as a result of the kindly treatment which the white people of the South have given to the negro as an obligation a superior race is under to an inferior one. The negroes of the South have made progress industrially, economically, socially and intellectually—a marvelous progress when contemplated in the light of the fact that they are only little more than a century removed from barbarism and only little more than half a century from slavery. That fact, while it does not acquit the South of having tolerated acts of injustice, proves the benevolence and chivalry of the motive which determines its attitude toward the negro. It is a fact which refutes the complaint that runs through the president's address.

Just what the president means in saying that the time has passed when the people of the South are "entitled to assume that the problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem," is not clear. If he means that it is not indigenous to the South, but that it presents itself in every section of the country, he is speaking unmitigated nonsense. The race problem is peculiar to the South because of the simple and determinative fact that it is only in the South that the negroes are in sufficient number to make the question of their racial relation difficult. Distribute the negroes throughout the nation, and the race problem disappears, for then they would be a negligible number in every state and in every community. This is so obvious that one can hardly attribute that meaning to the president's remark. And yet if that meaning is denied to it, one is thrown upon the conclusion that the president meant to intimate that it is the right of the federal government to champion the cause of the negroes in the South.

The president says it is time for the South to stop blinking the facts, and yet it is he who blinks the fundamental fact of the whole matter, which is that the conventions which fix the relation of the negro race to the white race have the high warrant of the white race's immeasurable moral, intellectual and cultural superiority, and will not, therefore, be annulled by statute or presidential admonition.

## TALKING AGAINST FACTS.

N.Y. Age 11/26/21

Apart from the political and economic aspects of President Harding's recent speech delivered at the Birmingham celebration, there was a phase of his philosophy which is in violent contrast to some facts and figures brought out in a study of the United States Census of 1910. According to the President's conception of the racial situation in the South, "Politically and economically, there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial." But what if the white men of the South refuse to recognize this "absolute divergence in things social and racial!"

The President seemed to admit this possibility, when he added that "men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality" and urged the acceptance by both sides of the suggestion that it was "a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference." And he emphasized this suggestion by the blunt declaration: "Racial amalgamation there cannot be."

Now, by the figures of the census of 1910, gathered by southern white men and collated and published by the Census office at Washington, racial amalgamation is just what is going on in the South. As it will not be conceivable that Negro men and white women are responsible for this process of natural selection, it must be that the onus for it lies with the white men of the South. But let us see what the census actually shows.

Although the mulatto element in the South increased at the rate of 426.1 per cent. from 1850 to 1910, the total Negro population there increased only 161 per cent. and the black population only 131.6 per cent.

In the 20 years, 1890-1910, the black population in the South increased 20.1 per cent. and the mulatto element 90.4 per cent. and in the 20 years from 1870 to 1890 the black element increased 48 per cent. and the mulatto element nearly 89 per cent.

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## PRESIDENTS ADDRESS AT BIRMINGHAM RINGS TRUE.

The Kansas City Sun
Missouri 10/29/21

Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 26.—A plea that Americans face the difficult problems of peace with the same courage and patriotic endeavor that they displayed when confronted by the gigantic task of war, was voiced here Wednesday afternoon by President Harding in addressing a group of Alabama business men.

The time has passed, the president said, when the problem of race is of concern only to the South or even to the United States. It has now become a world problem, he said, and he suggested that it can be best dealt with by recognizing these fundamentals.

### Fundamentals to Recognize.

1. That the Negro be accorded equal opportunities in politics, business and education and,

2. That there be absolute divergence racially and socially, each race with its own traditions, ideals, etc.

"I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tdadition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.

"I want to see the time when black men . . . will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket for like reasons.

### "Let Blacks Vote."

"Take first the political aspect. I woudl say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; probihit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. Especially would I appeal to the self respect of the Colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban com mittees now in southern states, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment.

"On the other hand, I would insist upon equal education opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing.

"But there must sbe such education among the Colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders( capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested— leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride or national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participataion in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity not only here but everywhere is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.

"I can says to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is the problem of Africa, or South America, or the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state.

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## PRES. HARDING AND THE COLORED AMERICAN

Boston Mass. Guardian
10/29/21

In regard to President Harding's speech at Birmingham, Alabama on Wednesday of this week, October 26, 1921, we would say to this Republican president that persons of Color born in the United States of America, most of whose parents and grandparents and great grandparents were born in the U. S. A. see no reason why they should be expected to be willing to be simply black people and not fully and wholly Americans, any more than Jews born here are expected to be willing to be simply Jews, Irish simply Irish, Italians simply Italians, and so on with the many race varieties here.

We demand that there be no distinction put upon us for race or color in public matters trat is not put on every other race in this our common country. We know as the white Americans know that there is no essential difference between human beings, and just as much superficial difference except in color or feature between white races here as between Americans of color and those called white. Nature has amply proven this before the eyes of all Americans with the aid of the white man's impositions upon colored women. We object to being made the only everlasting aliens in our own land by any enforced, preparation in the public life of the country. It must come over our everlasting protest.

We give much space this week to very temperate analysis of Pres. Harding's speech by two Colored citiens of Greater Boston. These very nearly cover the case.

The crux of the matter is this. Why does not Pres. Harding ask us to be good and true and efficeitn Americans? Why did he not ask white and black to be alike one uniform element of patriotic Americans, none trying to be good as white folks, none to be good as black folks, but all one common American citizenry?

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WHEELING W V INTEL'GEN'CI
OCTOBER 31, 1921

## HARDING AND THE NEGRO

President Harding's recent speech in Birmingham, in which he advocated economic and political equality, but complete social divergence for the negro, has created a furore of discussion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The president is everywhere given credit for extraordinary diplomatic courage in thus attacking the race question in the light of absolute equality, save social, before a southern audience. The theme of President Harding's speech was that the negro should receive the equality to which his enfranchisement entitles him, and that he should accept this political freedom in its idealistic nature, voting either the [illegible] ticket according to his personal convictions and preferences, and not according to his narrow prejudices. "He should seek to be," said President Harding, "and should be encouraged to be the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man." Stress was laid upon social equality and the amount of harm done the negro race by persons advocating a strict equality, the president declaring "in matters social and racial a separate path" should be pursued by the white and black races.

Regardless of President Harding's broadmindedness in the race question, he has been heaped with criticism by southern Republicans and Democrats alike. In the northern states his address is accepted at its face value. The president has been accused of taking the southern tour and raising the negro question in Birmingham with the sole object of breaking up the "Solid South" and forcing in the Republican wedge. He has been called insincere and tactless, an uninformed person speaking with authority about conditions of which he is totally ignorant. But with all this, the fact remains that a political equality of the negro is inevitable; each day brings us closer to its realization, and time will tell whether President Harding's Birmingham speech was well timed or premature. Things which are tactless today are sometimes tomorrow's creed.

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## THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN TO THE SOUTH ON THE "RACE PROBLEM."

Little Rock Ark.
Baptist Vanguard 11/3/21

Some of the folks who have never risen above the falaceuos doctrine promulgated by Judge Taney many years ago, to the effect, that, "A black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect" are greatly perturbed over the recent speech of President Harding, and some are saying that it is calculated to stir up confusion. Of course there are not many MEN, who can feel that to grant to the Negroes their political and economical rights would bring confusion, for if such was the case, it would mean that those holding such a view are opposed to Law and Order or in other words opposed to the laws which guarantees those rights, and we have never thought that the Negroes would abuse those rights if freely granted to them. The practical application of Mr. Hardings theory will however be a death blow to "lilly whiteism" in the Republican party.

Race Problem - 1921    President Harding's Speech    (Editorials)

United States

# THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN.

President Harding spoke in Birmingham last week and took as his theme the "race question." In the heart of the South, in the former stronghold of slavery, and the present day home of much racial demagogy, he made some pronouncements so directly as to cause some, even of his adherents, to characterize them as "mischevious." Dallas Tex. Express 11/5/21

That speech will stand out forever as one of the startling presidential utterances. And, while we take pleasure in noting the mind which the sentiments there expressed imply, even we are surprised at the directness of his delivery.

His plea for a more liberal granting of opportunities could not have been more fervent.

His address fairly bristles with them. He said:

"'Here then is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material.'

"Here it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out."

The above statement, a quotation from a commenator on the question of race, epitomizes his whole address. And, though it was received by his hearers in an almost ominous silence there is no doubt but that to more than a few of them it came with telling force.

His discussion of the political future of the white South and the Negro race may do much to clarify the minds of those who have wondered at the seeming course of exclusion now being practised by the Republican party in the South. Concering it he said:

"It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its Colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the process of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section. Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the Colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country.

"I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We cannot go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division of race lines.

"With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the Colored people. Likewise, I plead with my own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of politcal solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions lie in persuading the black people to forget old prejudices and to have them believe that under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race.

Such pronouncements are unusual and, delivered as they were directly to the people whom they most vitally concerned, one is prone to wonder just what their effect will be.

Comments already made by many Southern publications and men of prominence give ample reason for the belief that their general spirit is one of genuine resentment at the "nerve" of the national head. And where this resentment is keenest there will probably be more than ordinary repression of activities which seem indicative of too much progress on the part of those in whose behalf these irritating remarks were made.

They will not cause any change in the attitude of the white South toward the Democratic party. Nor will it be any easier for Negroes to vote the Democratic ticket than it formerly was. And, any gains to the Republican party in the South will occur rather as the result of successful financial Republican manipulation rather than from the agreement with the sentiments as expressed in this address.

We, as a group take much pride in the fact that such a speech should have been made under such circumstances. But we need not expect any startling nor cataclysmic change of sentiment to result therefrom in the near future, for such will not be the case.

We should be mindful however, of the fact that constan repretition of such sentiments makes agreement with them easie for thus only can they become subjects for argument which establishes the truth in regard to them.

The program as outlined by President Harding will eventua ly be followed in the South. But it will come into being ver gradually—as the result of the gaining little by little of the re truths of the principles of equal opportunity—generation by ger eration.

In the meantime, we shall have been helped by our own e forts and the opportunities which are constantly increasing to better understanding of our relation to the world in which w live. And our friends and neighbors will have begun more nea ly to realize that their continued welfare is inseparably link with our striving with them for the greater common good.

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YORK PA. DISPATCH
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH

"President Harding went pretty deeply into the racial and political question of the negro in his speech at Birmingham. He talked pretty frankly, and he talked sense," says The Baltimore American, "while the whole structure of interracial relationship which he outlined may not prove to be a sound structure in every detail, that question does not affect the general solid and illuminating fact that the president, as titular leader of the Republican party, did declare against the policy of hitching the negro to the wagon of one party for the supposititious benefit of both the black race and of that party. He did show very clearly that such a policy is injurious both to the negro and to the South, that it makes for racial enmity and hurts economic development.

"The Republican party has nothing to gain politically in a national sense through an effort to persuade the negro to vote according to his individual intelligence instead of according to his historic prejudices. Republicanism is fairly well intrenched nationally. It can go along with things as they are, fairly confident of continued success. It does not need to break the Solid South in order to carry elections, but the Solid South does need to be broken if it is to march in step with the rest of the country along the road of progress. One-party rule in any section is deadening to the political energies of a people, and deadened political energies make for decay, corruption and economic retardment.

"That deadening process is one of the major reasons why the South has not kept step with the rest of the country in the accumulation of wealth. The South has lain largely dormant under the somewhat irresponsible and slothful rule of a party sure of its power and immune to rebuke.

"The reason of it lies largely in the almost unconscious belief of Southerners that the Republican party stands for more than the principle of equal opportunity. Whenever the logic of economic events has pressed the Democratic leaders in the South, they have only had to raise the cry of 'negro domination' to insure their own continued domination.

"But the president's message, which is official Republican warning addressed to the Southern negro, disclaims the idea that fair dealing means preference in party councils."

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ASHVILLE N. C. CITIZEN
NOVEMBER 1, 1921

## A Negro Farmers' Auxiliary

The Buncombe County Farmers' Federation was taken wise action in providing for the organization of a Negro farmer's auxiliary to the Federation. If the Federation is to achieve as great success as it should, all farmers, of both races, should give support to the aims of the Federation and share in its benefits.

It is not only good business to organize the Negroes in a body under their own management but it is a matter of economic justice. In his statesmanlike address in Birmingham, President Harding touched the conscience of the whole country in pleading for a greater measure of economic opportunity for the colored man, for encouragement to the black man in developing the pride of race that comes from racial progress. And in carrying out this ideal there is no other agency which offers so much opportunity for growth to the Negro and so little for conflict between the races as farming and home-owning among the colored people. It is true that in some agricultural regions an undesirable condition has come about through the migration of the majority of the whites to the cities. This is, however, another problem that will have to be dealt with by the leaders of both races in a way to avoid undesirable consequences to community life.

Here and there a white man of some influence will still assert that any progress for the Negro is a menace to the good relations of the two races. Fortunately for whites and blacks the number of such pessimists is constantly decreasing.

A reasonable amount of farm-tenantry is not unwholesome for a State, but there is a pretty general conviction that North Carolina has too much of it. There is a tenant who is thrifty, resourceful. In a few years he is likely to become the owner of the land he works. Students of sociology say that the rule is that those who work the land finally own it. But in North Carolina the number of roving tenants, always in debt and with little ambition or capacity, is too large. There has lately been much discussion of this class and therefore it is welcome news that the North Carolina Club of the University of North Carolina will this year make a detailed study of the tenant and his peculiar problems. The research work carried on for several years by the students and faculty members of the University has made a distinctive contribution to social and economic knowledge in this State. The club's report on tenantry in the State will be awaited with keen interest.

### THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS.

Indianapolis Ind. Freeman

11/5/21

There is no denying the fact that President Harding is entitled to the highest commendation for his especially timely speech at Birmingham last Wednesday. The address was a splendid embodiment of sound intelligence and common sense. It was a frank and masterly performance in the very heart of the South. We have every reason to believe it will be productive of much good.

That the Negro is rightly entitled to, and should by all means receive, his just measure of recognition as a bona fide citizen, was pointed out in no uncertain terms by the President. Equal justice, equality in politics and equality in economic opportunities for the Negro are among the many things required to bring about an adjustment of racial differences that have for so long baffled the best thinkers of the country. Until these are accorded the colored citizen in their fullness, it is clear that the question can never be satisfactorily disposed of. It is also true that until our people cease fighting directly against their own progress with false political beliefs and utterly contemptible one-party patronage method, we can hope to find no way out of the dilemma.

Mr. Harding's speech is a splendid vindication of the views of George L. Knox, publisher of The Freeman, who just 20 years ago, in his fight for Congress, warned his people against the saliently iniquitous effect of one-partyism. We regard it as of great significance to mention here the fact that, among the many advices offered his people at that time by Publisher Knox, was that which urged them to cease being political dupes and ally themselves with all the parties of the Nation. And now we have no less a personage than the President of the United States of America (who now is the Naion's head largely as a result of our votes), to come out and tell us the same thing for the same reasons that prompted Mr. Knox to do so years ago. It remains to be seen now to what extent the advice as coming from the President will be heeded by our people.

There is no earthly reason why the Negro should continue to act the part of a positive white elephant for the Republican party. And white and black politicians who are guilty of the crime should put a stop to the nefarious and utterly mischevious practice of fooling our people into the absurd belief that they owe the so-called party of Lincoln and Roosevelt an everlasting slavish allegiance. And those of our people who see fit to organize themselves into an independent poliical party should do so without using the Republican label. The President said:

**"Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely one party; just as I believe that it is bad for the South and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of people will in the long run prosper our country."**

Which is clearly a notice to the effect that the Republican party is tired of trying to cope with the utterly impossible task of decently caring for thirteen milliion Negroes unaided.

The President's appeal to the Negro's sense of pride in this connection proves one thing, and that is that there are too many Negroes in the Republican party to be of any material benefit to themselves or the G. O. P.

Mr. Harding's request that our people patronize other political parties is therefore timely and dignified.

The President expressed himself to the effect that he is definitely opposed to social equality, and pointed out the necessity for each race to develop on its own line. He believes, and rightly so, that the Negro should rise above the status of an "imitation white man." Colored men wo were qualified to vote should be allowed to exercise that privilege, while the ballot should be denied white men who are not qualified to use it. In this, he is quite right. As to the question of social equality. Unless colored people are prepared to spend valuable time and energy uselessly, it is just as well that they cease fighting for the impossible and strive for the things that are attainable and really of some substantial consequence. Why, may we ask, should one ambitious race deliberately force itself on another socially?

And iis there any pleasantness in such an association? None whatever. The thing to do then is to leave the social equality question alone for the time being at least. Seemingly, it's the one concession we can not hope to acquire if there is any foundation to what Mr. Harding has said on the matter. Let our people work as one for the things that are more desirabl just now than social equality.

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Mr. Harding's speech at Birmin ham was a clear and conservati statement of the race question a should be endorsed by all true Am icans.

(Richmond. Va. Times Dispatch

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Richmond, Va. Planet

If President Harding's Birmingha address, in so far as it bears up the race question, is an expressi of the best thought of his party and it must be so accepted since h is its titular head—then the cour which the Virginia wing of Repu licanism has elected to pursue is direct variance with what the party leaders, voiced by Mr. Harding, pronounce best for the preservation of the public interests.

Yet who can doubt that the carefully laid plans of the Virginia Republicans in Colonel Anderson's campaign for the governorship, so far as they relate to treatment of the Negro, had the sanction, even if they were not formulated by the party's national organization? If the latter premise be true, and the Virginia campaign is an expression of the party's determination in its efforts to smash the Solid South, either the President is in conflict with and powerless over his party machinery or his advice to the South is sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

Mr. Harding said yesterday: "Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity * * * Just as I do not want the South to be politically entirely of one party, just as I believe it is bad for the South and for the rest of the country as well, so do I not want the colored people to be entirely of one party."

That is well said, and it is sound political, economic and social doctrine. But presidential theory here clashes with Republican practice. In Virginia, the Republicans have cast the Negro, bag and baggage, from their ranks. He has been told that it is now a white man's party, and he has no place in the organization which since his enfranchisement has been his sole political refuge. Virginia Republicans are white, they tell him, and no black Republicans need apply.

Thus by their repudiation of the black voter the Republicans force the formation of a solid black party which conceivably some time might hold the balance of power at the polls, an evil which the President oresees and whose results cannot be oretold by those who remember the ays of Reconstruction. This is the ork of the Republicans in Virginia nd if it is successful even in a easure they may be expected to xtend t o other Suehrn Sashmrfw extend it to other Southern States, a solid black party springing up in every one of them until it covers the South and a new menace is created.

So much for the practical political workings of Republican politics in the South. If President Harding is sincere, and sincerity rings in his address, the situation as it threatens to develop must distress him to the point of blocking his party's plans for conquering the South. Will he have the courage to attempt it? If he has not, then his latest admonitions will rise no higher than the endless stream of advice which the North has poured out upon us for a half century.

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## WASHINGTON HAS EARS TO GROUND; HARDING SPEECH

Chicago Defender

Washington, D. C., Nov. 4.—Like a thunderbolt from the clear blue of the political sky came Warren G. Harding's challenge to the South on the question of the Race's right to economic, educational and suffrage fair play in his recent speech made at Birmingham, Ala.

11/5/21

The speech, as is always to be expected when any slightest measure of consideration along the line of manhood rights for us is enumerated, was received in a spirit of sullen, dissatisfied quietude by the Southern white hearers. This attitude has been reinforced here at the nation's capital by attacks on the president's utterances from Senators Watson of Georgia, Heflin of Alabama, Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and McKellar of Tennessee.

On his return to Washington, however, Mr. Harding expressed himself to newspaper men as being well pleased with his first invasion of "Dixie." He further indicated that, although he did not believe that the South is prepared to accept immediately all his views on the Race problem expressed in his Birmingham speech, he nevertheless felt certain that "sober reflection" will persuade a large part of the South that it ultimately deal with the Race along the lines he suggested—political, educational and economic equality. He further feels that his speech was timely.

On the other hand, from remarks among our citizenry at large, the chief executive's speech seems in some particular phrases and phases to have grated on the finer sensibilities. Many claim to see no need for any mention of that chimerical, miasmic will o' the wisp phantasmagoria, conjured up by the distorted imagination of white racial opposition, under the old hackneyed classification of "social equality." The term is held to be a misnomer.

It is also maintained by many that more than one passage of the president's speech possesses those traits so common to scriptural passages—possibilities for many interpretations.

Race Problem - 1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials)

United States

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch admits that the "Social Equality" question is a mere bugaboo and adds that right conduct in government and society are the foundation of society. After an editorial in The Post-Dispatch on the President's speech there appeared in that paper a letter from "H" who criticized The Post-Dispatch and the President.

St Louis Argus 11/4/21

In answering "H's" letter, The Post-Dispatch has to say:

### THE BUGABOOS OF RACE

"H," whose letter in the Post-Dispatch arraigns President Harding and the Post-Dispatch for recognizing the rights of the Negro to political and economic equality—equality under the laws—sees so many bugaboos of the domination of the white by the colored races that his moral vision is obscured. He sees race instinct and pride completely overwhelming inherent rights, constitutional rights and ethical principles—in short, all fundamentals of right conduct in government and society which are the foundations of civilization and the observance of which enables peoples of different races and colors to live together on the earth; to develop their distinctive qualities and capacities and to establish equitable living conditions which make for peace and the welfare of both.

"H" admits the correctness of the fundamental principles supported by the Post-Dispatch and Mr. Harding. He admits the advocacy of equal rights for the Negroes is based on fundamentals as embodied in the Federal Constitution, but he insists that there are fundamentals that precede it; these are the elementals of racial instincts and pride, against which he thinks no fundamental rights or principles of equity can prevail.

It is a dark peture of wrong and might triumphant which belies all the progress in culture and civilization the world has made. We admit the existence and the strength of race instincts and pride—as we admit the fact that greed and imperial ambition exist—which have manifested themselves since the beginning of man in race hatreds and prejudices. They have brought wars and woes innumerable upon mankind.

What is the remedy for these things which are recognized to be evils? We admit their existence and their menace, but shall we bow down to them as the gods of the world? Shall we succumb wholly to their influence? Or shall we combat them with sound principles of human relationships which make for progress? Mankind has made great progress against these menacing evils and there is evidence, despite the croakers of evil and the believers in the irredeemable depravity, pride, ruthless selfishness and ambition of races and nations into amicable co-operation for the abolition of war, the elimination of frictions and hostilities and the establishment of right in their relations.

It may be that the blacks and the browns and the yellows will join together to dominate or destroy the whites. We see no evidence of it as yet. There is no affinity between the pacific Chinese and their aggressive cousins, the Japanese. The Chinese are nearer in friendship and accord to America than to Japan. They seek only their rights and they look to us to help in obtaining them. The East Indians, to whom war and slaughter of any kind is obnoxious, are concerned only in establishing their rights against white conquest. They will no fight for them, but resort soley to moral and passive resistance. The truth is the great masses of the blacks, yellows and browns which make up the vast majority of the human race seek only protection against white aggression and exploitation. The whites are the sinners in attempted domination, as we were the sinners in Negro slavery. It is for us to atone for our sins and cease sinning before we shiver and rush to arms to fight domination by colored races.

There is no better way to foster hostility and promote ultimate conflict than the way of "H" and his quoted authorities, Lathorp Stoddard and Madison Grant. If we recognize the evils of race antipathies and conflicting ambitions as permanent and insurmountable, and counsel the ignoring of rights with suppressions and oppressions of the colored races with whom we are in contact we help to arouse fears and hatreds and to bring on the Armageddon they say is inevitable. //

It is true there are unfortunate conditions in the South, but we do not advocate black over white government, the government of the least civilized and intelligent, when we advocate the effort to remedy the evil situation by the application of sound principles of human relationships. We do not believe that the unfortunate conditions existing in the South can be bettered by insisting that wrong must prevail, right be suppressed and the fundamentals of the Federal Constitution be ignored. That is a course of reasoning which leads to conflict and destruction.

We admitted freely the difficulties in the way of solving the race problem. It is a delicate and complicated problem, but we do not think it insoluble except through injustice and conflict. We hold that it can be worked out satisfactorily but that the only way to work it out is through sound principles—through the overcoming of evil with good and through the recognizing of rights and vital interests and the establishing of righteous and amicable relations. If that cannot be done, if wrong must continue and ultimately triumph by oppression and war, our civilization is a failure. The republic is doomed and mankind is on the road to ruin.

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## The Race Problem Viewed From Nebo

NORFOLK VA VIRGINIAN PILOT
OCTOBER 29, 1921

It is not impeaching President Harding's sincerity to ascribe to his race formula a significance chiefly political. The President honestly intended his Birmingham speech to be in some degree a contribution to the forces making for a solution of the South's peculiar problem. Yet when we attempt to interpret the President's program in terms of its possible application, we are brought abruptly to the realization that we are dealing with a quite familiar formula. For many years the intelligent opinion of the South has demanded for the negro substantial equality of treatment with the white race, in the matter of education and opportunity for economic advancement. It has no less unmistakably insisted on social and racial separation. It is when we have come to correlate these concepts and give them practical application that we have encountered our main difficulties. In a very real sense social and racial segregation carries with it an impairment of the equality of opportunity. In a very real and troublesome sense equality of opportunity encroaches on social and racial separateness. The South's problem is one of blending these two sets of principles for the good of both races. In its practical aspects the problem begins where the President leaves off. The promised land where the two races will dwell together in peace, neither encroaching upon the other, each enjoying equality of opportunity and equality of reward for achievement, but each preserving a dignified racial separateness—this Promised Land has already been shown to us by many a Moses of our own. The President's formula takes us no further than Nebo. We have been admiring the view from Nebo for a long time now, and it does not help much to be told to admire it some more.

What we need is something better than we have already developed. In our own imperfect way we have taken steps to insure the separateness of the two races everywhere their mixing might provoke conflict. We have taken steps to insure to the South an all-white government, knowing well that to set colored people over white people in government is to invite disaster. It is these and related phenomena of the delicate racial adjustment that obtains now in the South that are mainly in issue as to their justice—that are chiefly responsible for the negro's disaffection. On the rightness or wrongness of what we are already doing to give the solid outlines of reality to things that with Mr. Harding are still in the realm of the ideal, the President is silent.

**In leading the South into racial harmony, just as in inducting the nations of the earth into a new and joyous "association," the President is content to sit tight on Nebo and indicate the general direction, leaving to others the business of blazing the trail to Canaan.**

**In only one respect did the President in his Birmingham speech leave the general for the particular. The negroes, he said, must stop being solidly Republican and the whites must stop being solidly Democratic. If we are considerably in doubt as to the President's opinion of the South's laws governing the separation of the races and tending to preserve the all-white character of the local and State governments, we are left in no doubt at all as to his opinion of the South's Democratic solidarity. It is insalubrious and should be broken up. Yet one may well wonder why in a speech so sincerely addressed to the basic subject of peace, understanding and good will between the races, the President should have indulged in a political aside distasteful to Southern opinion and in no vital sense connected with the problem which he was discussing. The President was dealing with fundamentals. Whether the two races keep politically separate, or whether each divides its strength between the two ranking parties, is a question that has no real bearing on the working out of the race problem. The question has a bearing chiefly political and the President's meddling with it at Birmingham can only be regarded as having a political purpose. The proposal that the South's whites and blacks split fifty-fifty between the Republicans and Democrats would, if carried into effect, make Republican rule at Washington perpetual. In seeking to give to this cool proposition the moral force of a reform essential to the solution of the South's most grievous problem, the President sadly underestimated the South's ability to distinguish between commendable social reform and current Republican strategy.**

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## *THE BIRMINGHAM SPEECH.*

The address of President Harding at Birmingham, in which he dealt at length with the race question, is a topic of national discussion.

Atlanta
Con. Constitution
10/30/21

At first, reports from Washington indicated that among democratic congressmen, especially southern congressmen, there was a strong inclination to condemn the address; but, as our Washington correspondent showed in his report in Friday's Constitution, after the address was read in full, studied and analyzed, many of those who first criticised it reversed their hastily expressed opinion from criticism to approval.

The president takes the position that with the constantly increasing migration of the negro from the south to the east and west, this is no longer a distinctly southern question, but that its solution affects the whole country. He believes that the problem can be worked out on well-defined principles of right and justice.

First and foremost among these is the principle that **there shall be no social equality**; that, as President Harding expressed it, 'race amalgamation there cannot be;" and that it will be best for both races to recognize that as an established fact, thus making easier the solution of the whole problem.

Upon this point no southerner could have gone farther than the president went in this statement of his position.

The second principle is that the negro shall be given equal educational opportunities, which does not mean intermingling of the races in the school-room, but simply that the negro should be given a fair opportunity to develop the best that is in him—that, as the president puts it, he should be encouraged "to be the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

The third is that the negro shall be fully protected in what the president termed his right to "economic equality."

In no section of the country is the negro more fully protected in his economic rights than he is right here in the south. And if any criticism should have been expressed against the president's statement of this proposition it might have been expected more from the north than from the south, for the south has not sought to deprive the negro of his right to earn an honest living in his own way, whether in business or in the industries or professions; while, on the other hand, there have been repeated instances in the north where this right has been denied the negro—as illustrated, for example, by the riots of a few years ago in East St Louis, Illinois, and in the frequent refusal to permit negroes to work in industral pursuits. Here in Atlanta, and in every other southern city, no question has ever been raised as to the rights of negroes to work as carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics or what-not to earn an honest livelihood.

Fourth, the president's position as to the political rights of the negro cannot consistently be challenged, assuming, of course, that his intention was to consider the question in the broadest aspect of the "political rights" of protection under the law, as a citizen.

The position is one that broadgauge, conservative public sentiment of the south must approve, and that, generally speaking, has had the approval of the best public sentiment of the south.

**We** assume, of course, that is the meaning President Harding intended to convey; that he did not have in mind the overthrow of the safeguards of the white primary system and that in advocating "political rights" he does not mean to impose negro officeholders on white communities where such service would be distasteful. That this is not his attitude is evidenced by the fact that as president **he has publicly sanctioned a movement to reorganize his own party in the south through white instrumentality and by actually deposing the negro committees.**

Further proof is added by the fact that, as president, he has consistently appointed only white men to office, not only in Georgia, but in other southern states.

This proves conclusively that it is not the president's purpose to impose negro office-holders upon the south, for if that had been his position the logical sequence would have been the appointment of negro republicans in the public service in this section.

The only possible construction to be put upon the president's position is that in all matters involvin his rights as a citizen, the negro, as the president sees it, is entitled to **the fullest possible protection** of the courts and political authorities in his rights to the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as guaranteed by the federal constitution, always **and at all times keeping in view the fact that in all social respects the two races must ever be apart and that it is best for both that they should be.**

Certainly, with this construction being thoroughly justified by the president's own official conduct in the matter of his own party reorganization in the south, there is not only no ground for complaint, but, conversely, every reasonable ground for approval, by our people, of the attitude expressed by the president in his Birmingham address.

And the very fact that criticism was changed to approval by the democratic congressmen and political leaders in Washington in a single day illustrates the fact that the speech, when analyzed, was far different from what it appeared to be when it was first presented to the critics under misleading headlines and misjudged upon immature consideration.

There is no reason why the whole so-called "negro problem" should not be solved along the very lines laid down by the president, and solved to the satisfaction of the whole nation, removing the race question as a political issue and enabling the people of every section—north, south, east and west—to consider all economic issues on their merits. The day when that will be done is coming; and, so far as the south, at least, is concerned, the sooner it comes the better!

That development has been impossible up to this time simply because the racial issue has been paramount. **The republican party has kept it so!**

**It will continue to be paramount so long as there is danger of overthrowing or evading or nullifying the white supremacy that is provided for and guaranteed through the instrumentality of the primary election system.**

The primary system rests upon the bedrock of self-preservation.

Certainly, there is nothing in the president's address to cause any alarm on this score; while, on the other hand, his Birmingham address taken in connection with the attitude of his party in restricting negro representation in the national conventions, and practically reorganizing itself in the south on a basis of a recognition of white supremacy, gives abundant grounds for hope that the settlement of this vexed question that has long perplexed the nation, and especially the south, is at hand.

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## *APPROVING THE PRESIDENT.*

Atl. Constitution
11/10/21

The reaction of sentiment regarding the speech recently delivered by President Harding at Birmingham, the change from criticism to approval, has been little short of remarkable.

This change has been due unquestionably to the fact that the first judgment of the public was rendered largely upon the strength of misleading headlines rather than upon reading of the text of the address.

The general comment of the southern press has been overwhelmingly in approval of the president's position in declaring that social equality is impossible, that it is neither expedient nor desirable, and that the sooner that fact is recognized the more promptly can a reasonable and permanent solution of the race problem be reached.

**Illustrative of this trend of public sentiment, we reproduce elsewhere upon this page a Washington special to The Baltimore Sun in which is quoted a statement from Robert Crain, the most extensive landowner in Maryland, a prominent citizen, and a leader in democratic counsels in Maryland.**

**This statement by Mr. Crain, similar statements that have been made by other leading citizens of the south, and the comments of southern newspapers, all go to show that The Constitution's analysis of the Birmingham speech is being universally approved.**

Race Problem - 1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials)

United States

## ECHOES FROM PRESIDENT HARDING'S SPEECH.

New York Age 11/26/21

President Harding's Birmingham speech awoke a great many echoes. These echoes rang all the way from absolute endorsement to complete condemnation. It is curious to note that there was almost as much variation of opinion expressed by colored people as by white.

These variations of opinions were not governed by sections. There were white newspapers in the South that almost entirely approved the speech and there were those that almost entirely condemned it. These newspapers of the former class took the position that it was only in accord with common justice that the Negro be granted economic, educational and political equality. Their approval was strengthened by the fact that they absolutely endorsed the President's statement that there should be permanent separateness between the races in all things socially. These newspapers o fthe latter class gave as their reason for condemning the Preident's utterances not so much the fact that they were opposed to giving the Negro economic, educational and political equality, but the fact that these equalities would ultimately lead to social equality, and to social equality they were irrevocably opposed.

The most backward and ignorant comment which we have yet seen on the President's speech came from the mayor of Savannah, in reply to a telegram from the New York "Herald" asking him to give his views on the address. These views were even worse than the one expressed by Vardaman in his weekly newspaper. Mayor Stewart, in his communication which was published in the New York "Herald," said:

> "Why not let us handle these people kindly and firmly as laborers and servants, which they are only fit for, and not try to enforce upon a race positions they are totally unfit for? By doing this you only hurt them, not help them. Our observation is that the white man of the United States who comes in contact with the Negro will frankly admit that it is unfair to force him into a position that he is totally unfit to fill.
>
> "If President Harding expected his speech to help the feeling between the two races he has made a grave mistake. Personally, I do not think the speech will be remembered more than a few days throughout this section, for we of Georgia intend to keep the Negro where he belongs and where he is the happiest, namely, the servant of the white race."

However, the mayor of Savannah is an exception. Most of the comments on the Birmingham speech, North and South, have been made with some light regard at least for logic and truth; and yet not very many comments which have come to our notice have gone to the heart of the matter. Most of them have been superficial and rhetorical. One of the colored delegates to the conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Detroit last week was quoted in the newspapers as saying: "The Negro does not ask social equality and never has asked it. All he asks is social justice." The statement of course demands a definition of social justice and brings up the question as to whether social justice can either be obtained or given unless equalities of all kinds are recognized.

In fact the Harding speech is all right or all wrong according to how you look at it. It depends upon whether your vision takes in the Negro as becoming "the best black man possible" in the United States or whether it takes in his becoming the most complete American citizen possible.

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## PRESIDENT HARDING'S ADVICE TO THE NEGRO.

Kansas City Mo. Sun. 11/26/21

As to President Harding's advice to the Negro in his famous Birmingham speech in regards to his dividing his vote, permit me to say that a larger and larger number of Negro voters of the country it appears are evincing a disposition to act and vote independently of the Republican Party. It also appears that it is no longer true that the Negro and Republican are synonymous. Wherever Negroes are participating in politics there is more and more of a tendency for them to divide their votes. At the same time it would be a good theory to mass our vote and throw it to the leadership of upright, honorable men, unpurchasable and non-office seeking, who would take up with the bosses of each party, the matter of patronage and race treatment, for the best racial advantage allow me to say, that every intelligent Negro is becoming more and more concerned about state and local politics, and are giving more and more attention to securing the civic and political benefits which come through states and municipalities.

Constitutional amendments guaranteeing the ballot to the Negro and giving Congress power to enforce it in the states must not be abridged or repealed, and we must unite to defeat and destroy forever technicalities and circumventions which contravene our citienzship rights. The ballot is the only effective weapon of citizenship, and if you will allow me to say, the greatest protection and strongest defense a citizen has under the American form of democratic-republican government.

Now as to the President's view on Negro Social Equality permit me to say, this phantom has outlived its time even for what is known in the South as a "hant." The Negro as a race has never shown any tendency to mingle socially with the white man, but it is not because we feel ourselves inferior. No Negro of intelligence would wish to marry a white woman. In the first place, if you will allow me to say, he could not mingle with the better class of her race and she on the other hand, could not expect to mingle with the better class of his and socially speaking they would both be ostraciezd by the best element of both races. The President's speech, coming at a time like this, when the reconstruction period is at its height, and representatives of the greatest nations of the world are now sitting in common council at the table of peace in Washington, was very ill-timed, and as for the social equality part, it was very ill-conceived and premature, for there is nothing farther from our mind, and allow me to say it is the very least of our thoughts.

CHAS. A. NEAL.

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## Harding's Speech

Afro-American 11/4/21 Baltimore

President Harding's Birmingham Speech is being criticised by colored people because it promises the colored race too little and by the white people because it promises too much.

The ten thousand colored people who listened to the President appeal for political and educational equality for them, cheered because they know that their own state disfranchises them by the thousands and robs them of millions of dollars of school funds. His twenty thousand white hearers were correspondingly silent.

On the other hand President Harding subscribed to the white South's view of "social equality," which means intermarriage laws, jim crow street-cars and railways, no political offices for colored people and discrimination at every point of contact between the two races. Carried out to its logical conclusion the President would sanction a separate school for the hundred colored families in Bangor, Maine, separate cars for the Boston subways and a disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

It comes with poor grace from a President of the United States to thunder "Race amalgamation, there cannot be" and close his eyes to millions of mulattoes in this country who represent the lust of the white race. We ardently believe with the President that colored people should divide their votes, but we should have preferred to hear him say so before his election rather than after it.

The AFRO-AMERICAN admires the President's courage, believes in his sincerity, but condemns his conception of American citizenship, his ignorance of the history of civilization and his bad taste.

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N Y C GLOBB

NOVEMBER 14, 1921

## Equality for the Negro

Editor Globe:—All liberal-minded persons will support the President in his stand for the "Political and Economic Equality" of the Negro.

But just what does Mr. Harding mean by "Social equality," for which he believes the Negro unfitted?

If he means equality in social standing, using the word "social" as an adjective to describe those relations of friendly intercourse popularly known as "society," then it should be observed that social standing is a matter of opinion, of private concern, not a right.

But if by the term "social equality" he refers to those social activities not included in the political or economic spheres, but which are controlled or regulated by law such as marriage, education, public amusements, transportation, etc., on what ground of justice should the Negro be denied equality in any of them?

Besides violating the principle of equal rights, such wholesale discrimination always results in antagonisms which grow more and more tense with time.

With merely a passing allusion to the outrageous crimes committed against the black man from the days when he was torn from his native land to be sold in bondage in other countries to the present day, lynching and other brutalities perpetrated against him, I plead for his complete equality before the law.

There is no warrant under a democracy for racial, creedal, or other group distinctions. The excuse that they are necessary as a protection for the remainder of society is not a good excuse. They do not protect; on the contrary, they widen the breach and increase the dangerous menace already existing.

DE WITT CLINTON

New York, Nov. 8

## Worse Than Death.

Vardaman's Weekly

11/17/21

The Nation of November 16th commends President Harding's negro-equality speech delivered at Birmingham some weeks ago. About some matters the Nation is eminently sane and splendidly brave, but on the question of negro-equality and the negro question generally, it is utterly and disgustingly insane. If the Nation had its way about things it would cause the amalgamation of the races, and in a few generations have America populated by people of the dark and muddy hues that the inhabitants of some of the South American countries are, and then these United States would become the restless uncivilized country that South America is.

The Nation does not seem to realize that upon the purity and cleanliness of the white race the civilization of the Western Hemisphere depends. Just to satisfy a foolish sentimentality it would destroy the civilization of the northern part of the Western Hemisphere and make North America a mongrel race. I cannot think a man is wholly sane who favors such a thing, and I cannot believe that he who would favor such a foolish policy is altogether a good man. I want to do justice to the negro, but I cannot be just to him where the treatment will result in the destruction of the white man and all of the superior qualities of which he is the author and finisher.

I would rather the white race would die in one great heap than that it should pollute its blood with the dark blood of the negro. The world has tried amalgamation before and in every instance it has been a disastrous experiment.

Some men are foolish enough to say that the views entertained by Vardaman are pernicious because they arouse race prejudice. So far as I am concerned, I want to keep race prejudice alive I would keep it alive if it resulted in the extermination of every race of color on the face of the earth. The negro must be himself or nothing. The white man must be himself or nothing. They cannot mix. And I repeat, so far as I am concerned, I had rather each of the races would suffer extermination than submit to the mixture of the races.

The speech of President Harding and the doctrine taught by the Nation are worse than yellow fever, small pox—yes, worse than death.

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## SOME ECHOES OF THAT BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

Atlanta Georgian

11/5/21

THE ROME NEWS has been keeping an eye upon comment in Southern newspapers anent the President's Birmingham speech, and has reached some very definite and interesting conclusions. The News says:

"It transpires that President Harding's Birmingham speech was not received with such bitterness in the South as some of the Democratic senators and congressmen in Washington expected it to be when they issued their criticisms. They spoke too quickly.

"Most of the sane, conservative papers that we have read commended the President's utterance on the race question. It was a statesmanlike presentation of a perplexing national problem. That it was delivered in a Southern city is all the more creditable to the President.

"All who think with common sense will feel that President Harding realized, when he said the negro is entitled to political equality, that whenever that right causes an infraction of the principle of non-social equality, the negro will sacrifice his political and economic equality.

"The principle of non-social equality is to the South in governing the relations of the races somewhat like the Monroe Doctrine to the United States in governing the extent to which foreigners may extend their power on this side of the Atlantic. It is supreme.

"President Harding knows that. The negro knows that.

"Why let it cause any more mental disturbance than the fact that the sun rises and sets with no power of man to prevent it?"

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The truth is, social equality admittedly is impossible and unthinkable, in the minds of ninety-nine out of every hundred Americans—North, South, East and West.

The President frankly repudiated it, as the very basis of his remarks in Birmingham. The more intelligent and enlightened leaders among the negroes realize the situation there, concur in it and teach it. The small fraction of negro leadership that still advocates social equality should no more control and shape the minds of straight-thinking people than should the transparent yelps of occasional cheap politicians, who elect to keep their fences up by viewing it with continuing and bitter alarm.

Whatever comes to the negro by way of a better and happier lot, it will—it must—come of an acceptance upon his part, in theory and in practice, of high American ideals of citizenship, as set down by the superior and dominant race, the whites. The first and foremost of these ideals is non-social equality.

Whenever and wherever a negro raises his voice in protest against that, he merely will set back the cause of his people that much. But, that settled and set aside as accepted permanently, in good faith by all, may we not then proceed to bettering the negro's condition in every way that seems wise and advisable, as a very vital factor in our economic structure—and certainly as a human being, entitled to a square deal and a fair chance, within his limitations.

And, after all, isn't that the real sum and substance of the President's remarks in Birmingham?

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PHILADELPHIA EVE LEDGER
OCTOBER 29, 1921

## THE SOUTH APPROVES

THE earnest tone of Mr. Harding's Birmingham address upon the race problem is re-echoed in the comment of the most influential Southern newspapers. The few editors who resent interference by a Northerner in a social and political question peculiarly affecting one section of the country cling narrowly to an old and obstructive convention.

The spirit of a broader Americanism is grasped by the Charleston News and Courier, which believes that the effect of the speech "will be wholesome"; by the Birmingham News, which calls it "wonderfully courageous"; and by the Baltimore Evening Sun, which regards it as "fortunate for the country that the Republican President has officially discarded the old policy and has come to look at facts from the patriotic and commonsense standpoint."

Journalistic voices such as these testify to the wisdom of the President in speaking frankly and tend to support his obvious belief that the time for treating with candor a theme once regarded as of perilous delicacy has arrived.

In Atlanta yesterday Mr. Harding touched indirectly upon the same subject, emphasizing the value of the distinguished services of Henry W. Grady as an indefatigable conciliator with a broad conception of the cause of national unity.

In some quarters the suspicion has been expressed that Mr. Harding is seeking to rehabilitate the Republican Party in the South. The intention, if it exists, is not necessarily reprehensible as a by-product of a new program grounded in large and intelligent sympathies calculated to efface outmoded barriers of sectionalism.

Mr. Harding has championed a wider diffusion of political opinion throughout the country. There is much less of rigid partisanship in this sentiment than of antagonism to moss-grown prejudices in States North and South alike militating against the most desirable forces of national cohesion.

Mr. Harding has thoughtfully analyzed a case bristling with difficulties. These are rendered not a whit less perplexing by an aversion to facing them—a fact shown to be in accord with the best Southern opinion.

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WHEELING W VA REGISTER
OCTOBER 28, 1921

## Mr. Harding and the Race Problem.

President Harding, attending the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the establishment of the steel industry at Birmingham, Ala., in which Wheeling capital played a prominent role, delivered a very interesting speech on race equality, so far as it went.

The Chief Executive declared that while social equality between the two races "must not be considered a possibility, the black man must have an increased political economic and educational opportunity if the American nation is to live true to its traditions of democracy."

Just how the negroes of the nation will accept the statement that they need not try to aspire to social equality with their white brethren we will not attempt to say, coming as it does from the acknowledged head of that political party with which the colored man has always affiliated, and was supposedly welcome—a party which once had a leader who insisted upon social equality?

However, the President made one mistake. His speech should have been unleashed in Virginia. Old Dominion negroes, smarting under their expulsion from the Republican state convention last summer, would undoubtedly have cheered themselves hoarse to have been told that they were again to have "political equality" in the party to which they always held allegiance. Negro delegates, duly elected to the G. O. P. convention at Norfolk, were refused admittance when they presented their credentials. In fact, they were expelled by force and informed that their presence was not desired, the Republican party in Virginia by resolution having determined to turn "lily white." Left to themselves, the colored men called a convention and did the only thing left to be done—named a state ticket of their own.

How refreshing, then, would it have been had the mistreated colored voters of Virginia been able to hear the Great Chieftain from Washington insisting upon "political equality" for them.

Really, Mr. Harding should extend his present tour all over the South carrying his message with him, for, according to all reports, southern leaders of his party are preparing to repeat the Virginia trick against the darkies elsewhere in the hope of breaking the Democratic grip on the "Solid South."

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NEW ORLEANS LA PICAYUNE
NOVEMBER 8, 1921

### *The South and the Negro.*

Dallas News:

Again the president betrayed his lack of understanding when he said that the movement of negroes from the South to the North during the war had "made the South realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man, and made the North realize the difficulties of the community in which two great differing races are brought to live side by side." That the phenomenon stated by the president has had some such enlightening effect on the people of the North is doubtless true. The people of Cincinnati and Chicago, for instance, have manifested a more sympathetic understanding of the South's racial difficulties since they themselves had a brief but incisive experience of them. But that the South has become sensible of an industrial dependence on the negroes is an idea which will not find large acceptance in the South. To say the least of it, that statement very greatly overlaps the facts. Instead of feeling that the South is industrially dependent on the negro, thoughtful men of this section very much more incline to the clew that, while it would be temporarily discommoding if there should be a large migration of negroes to the North, in the end it would be beneficial to the South, and not only in the political sense, but in the industrial and economic sense as well. For the country as a whole, it would certainly be better if the negro population were distributed somewhat evenly throughout the nation rather than concentrated in a single section of it.

(Editorials)

President Harding's Speeches, etc.

Race Problem - 1921
United States

N. Y. Neg. World 11/19/21

# PRESIDENT HARDING VS. HIS CRITICS

PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING'S Birmingham address on the race question has received serious consideration from the press of the country and has been subjected to a keen and critical analysis. There are three reasons: In the first place, it is a serious and sincere grappling with a perplexing problem, a delicat subject. In the second place, the utterances of a recently inaugurated President are closely watched, as they indicate the ideas and ideal which will shape his policy. In the third place, a President of a grea republic sends out psychic waves of influence, which radiate throughout the world, just as the sun, that lights up the solar system, sends out waves of light that travel in every direction through the ether of space for millions of miles. When Col. Theodore Roosevelt said "I will not shut the door of hope in the face of any man because o his color," he set in motion currents of sympathy for the aspiring Negro. When President Woodrow Wilson sanctioned the segregation of colored government employes in the national capital he gave an added stimulus to jim-crowism. So the press of the country does we to analyze President Harding's remarkable address and ask, "What is its significance?"

President Harding is not a philosopher, psychologist and sociologist who is evolving a philosophy of history, but he is a practical statesman who in the heart of the South endeavored to deliver a address which would open to the Negro the door of educationa economic and political opportunity, and at the same time would smoot the ruffled feathers of the South, which always became alarmed whenever any kind of equality was associated with the Negro. The inexplicable thing about that remarkable address was that it containe passages that pleased the Negro and alarmed the South, and on th other hand contained passages that alarmed the Negro and pleased th South.

### The South's Attitude

The thing that impressed us most is that the South was dissatisfied with President Harding's speech. It has said all along that it desired to uplift the Negro but was irrevocably opposed to social equality, race amalgamation and intermarriage. Then President Harding comes out for the Negro's educational opportunity and political and economic equality, but opposes social equality, race amalgamtion and intermarriage. One would think that this would please the South. Evidently it did not.

Murray Stewart, Mayor of Savannah, Ga., closed his letter to the New York Herald thus: "Personally I do not think the speech will be remembered more than a few days throughout this section, for w of Georgia intend to keep the Negro where he belongs and where h is the happiest, namely, the servant of the white race." Another Southerner, from Atlanta, Ga., wrote the New York Herald: "It ough to be clear to the average American, regardless of the section of the country to which he belongs, how impossible it would be to share the responsibilities of government with Negroes without also sharing social equality with them." And the New York Times, in an editorial on November 10, said: "No one questions the sincerity or courage of his [President Harding's] utterance on the race question, but politically it was a blunder, only making a bad matter worse and really intensifying, for the time being, the race discrimination against which he was protesting."

These and other statements from Southern leaders and papers of Northern papers that sympathize with them conclusively prove that with the South political and social equality are synonymous and that the South has widened the definition of social equality until it now includes the right to vote and hold office, the right to dine in a restaurant, sleep in a hotel and secure a stateroom or sleeper when travelling.

### The Negro's Attitude

We carefully read several Negro newspapers and found many no wholly satisfied. The Chicago Whip said: "If the denial of social equality means the denial of intermarriage of white and blacks, it means that white men can seduce our daughters and sisters and w cannot compel the scoundrels to marry them, because these thieves of virtue are placed upon a higher social plane than the wretched, helpless women whom they have defiled and ruined." Dean Kelly Miller thus wrote The Oakland Sunshine, Howard University, Washington, D. C., October 27, 1921: "Dear Sir: I beg you to urge that your paper hit hard Harding's philosophy of the fundamental, eternal, inescapable race differences, or else there is no hope for our group. Yours, truly, Kelly Miller."

What caused consternation in Negro circles was not so much President Harding's opposition to social equality as his philosophy of the fundamental, eternal and inescapable race difference. It savored too much of the slaveholder's talk about the Negro not possessing those intellectual, aesthetical and moral qualities which differentiates man from the brute and constitutes him a human being. It recalled too much Calhoun's talk of the inability of the Negro to master Greek syntax. In Prof. Miller's idea, if the psychic gap between the Caucasian and Negro is too wide, then the Negro has no chance for any sort of equality.

### The New Republic and the Nation

The New Republic and The Nation of New York City are preeminently the two magazines representing advanced and progressive thought in science, philosophy, literature, art, music and politics, which have a wide circulation. Consequently when they each have an editorial on President Harding's Birmingham speech, and when The Nation follows with a feature editorial on the subject, it indicates the impression made by the speech. As these two journals write in an impartial and dispassionate manner, what they say is worthy of serious consideration.

The New Republic said: "The South knows, as President Harding ought to know, that you can't draw a sharp line between politics and social life. The offices of a State are in most parts of America positions of social leadership. With complete political equality the State of Mississippi might easily elect a Negro as Governor. Would such a result be accepted by Mississippians as devoid of social significance? The race problem, unfortunately, is not one that admits of easy general solution."

The Nation on November 16 contained a feature editorial on the theme, "President Harding and Social Equality." The Nation said: "So President Harding ought to have informed us whether he meant by his words on social equality to approve of the Jim Crow car; the denial of all cultural opportunities in theatres, in concert and lecture halls to colored people, and the unending discrimination against them in restaurants and hotels and in practically every walk of life. He has not even stated that he is opposed to that precious bit of Wilson wrongdoing, the segregation of the Negro in the departments at Washington. Until Mr. Harding does speak on these questions, which mean more to the Negro than anything else, which daily bend his back, scarify his soul and make every educated Negro mother look upon her children and ask whether she can justify to them their being called into existence, he cannot have thought through the problem, nor can he render the full service which we believe he desires to render and which we honor him for seeking to render."

### The Answer to the Sphinx's Riddle

From these seven quotations one can see the various interpretations put upon President Harding's memorable speech. It is strange and inexplicable that the Negro and his friends on the one hand and the Southern leaders on the other hand should see both a promise and a menace in President Harding's speech. This is partly due to the fact that President Harding does not exactly define what he means by social equality. He does not state whether he means it in the society sense or the sociological sense, whether he means by social equality the privilege to be admitted to private functions or the right to enjoy public civic privileges. He does not state whether he means by social equality, social hobnobbing or equality in social status. The reader may ask what is the difference. Social hobnobbing means your associating with those you like or refusing to associate with those you dislike. Equality in social status carries with it the recognition of the full and complete manhood of a man. And inequality in social status carries with it the suggestion of personal or racial inferiority.

But here is the rub, the Gordian Knot, the Sphinx Riddle. On the one hand President Harding says the Negro is so different from the Caucasian that he is not fit to associate with him. And on the other hand he says that this being who is not wholly human should receive educational opportunities and political and economic equality. President Harding's premises almost put the Negro in the category of the Missing Link between man and the monkey which Darwin sought for and found not. But in his conclusion he says, in substance: "Let us give this developing ape-man the same educational, political and economic opportunities which we do human beings." There seems to be a contradiction between premise and conclusion. President Harding seems to regard the Negro as a little lower in the scale of creation than the Caucasian and hence is in harmony with the South. Where he differs from the South is that he does not desire to keep the inferior being under, but desires to give him a chance to rise educationally, economically and politically and to treat him humanly. Thoughtful Negroes dislike his premises, but like his conclusions. The Southerners like his premises, but dislike his conclusions.

It seems to us that brave, humane, sincere and just as President Harding evidently is, his address, while on the whole designed to arouse the spirit of justice and sympathy towards a struggling race, on the other hand in one respect is fraught with possible danger to the race. It is not what he says, but what might be implied from his speech. It suggests the thought of the inferiority of the Negro.

Take the syllogism which is contained in some text books on logic:

> "All men are mortal;
> Socrates is a man;
> Therefore Socrates is mortal."

In that syllogism it all hinges upon the minor premise as to whether Socrates is a man. If Socrates is a man, what applies to mankind as a whole applies to him. So is it with the Negro; it all depends as to whether he is regarded as a full fledged and full orbed man. If the Negro is a man, what applies to mankind as a whole applies to him.

Establish it as a maxim that the Negro is not a man, the same as other men, and it will be comparatively easy to deny him educational and economic opportunities, civic privileges and comforts in traveling, to disfranchise, jim-crow him and prevent his holding office, and to justify the New York Times editorial. But once establish the fact that the Negro is a man, then educational, economic and political opportunities and civic privileges will come to him naturally and the New York Times editorial will not be justified.

Why did the British, the French, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Americans enslave the African, and why did the Belgians under King Leopold commit such atrocities in the Congo? Simply because they did not regard the Negro as a man, as a human being. Why do the Dutch in South Africa oppress the natives and why do Americans in the Southern States lynch a Negro accused of crime without giving him a chance to establish his innocence in a court? Simply because they do not regard him as a man, as a human being. Why do employers work mill and factory hands as galley slaves, hiring straw bosses to walk around to see that the workmen do not sit down and rest for five or ten minutes when they are tired? Simply because they regard their workmen as socially their inferiors. It makes a world of difference in a man's treatment of you whether he regards your social status, your status in human society as superior to, equal to, or inferior to his. The real reason why the Southerner fights against the Negro sitting in Congress, sitting on the judge's bench, holding such responsbile positions as collector of the customs and collector of internal revenue, register of the treasury and recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia is because he regards the Negro's status in American society is inferior to his.

We are not concerned as to whether the sons and daughters of Ham be entitled to marry the sons and daughters of Japeth or be invited to the pink tea affairs, drawing room receptions, bridge and whist parties and country and golf clubs of the Caucasian. But we are concerned as to whether the world believes that the Negro was created in the Divine image, though made of the dust of the earth. We are concerned as to whether he be conceived as belonging to the *genus vir* as well as the genus *homo*. We are concerned as to whether he be regarded as *aner* man or *anthropos* man.

But the case is not hopeless. It is somewhat encouraging though that while President Harding seems not to regard the Negro as *actually* a man, he yet regards him as *potentially* a man, as the stuff out of which manhood is made and as capable of improvement.

We can only say here what we said on page 531 of Vol. II of "The African Abroad": Then reflect also that long after the Phoenicians had invented the alphabet, long after the Ethiopians on the Isle of Moroe had constructed their wonderful tombs, buildings and monuments, long after Egypt had erected her pyramids, long after Athens had reached the acme of intellectual development in the age of Pericles and Phidias had planned the Parthenon, long after Rome had built the Coliseum, the ancestors of the proud Anglo-Saxon were roaming as savages in German forests and the ancestors of the gifted Celtic people were offering up human sacrifices on Druidic altars." So who can foretell what the Negro will not do in the future? Just as the Hebrew religion and the Greek, Roman and Arabian civilizations lifted Teutonic and Celtic tribes out of barbarism and brutality to their present position of world ascendency, so appropriation and application of the cultural achievements of mankind will likewise develop the Negro into a being who is inspired by the mighty hopes which make us men. W. H. F.

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## HARDING'S REVIVAL OF THE COLORED ISSUE

BROOKLYN N Y CITIZEN
OCTOBER 30, 1921

President Harding's concern for the political future of the colored brother will remind some of the older colored people of the pathetic reference to the same subject made by Rutherford B. Hayes when he thought he had been defeated. The thing that made the heart of Mr. Hayes bleed, he said, was not anything of interest to himself, but only the condition of the poor Negro. What Mr. Hayes did for the "poor" Negro is also a matter of record. He abandoned him to the tender mercies of the South in return for acquiescence by the South in his own fraudulent title. At present the Republican politicians in several of the Northern States are very much disturbed by the attitude of the colored voters. They are afraid of a revolt against the Republican party and this is the explanation of Mr. Harding's outburst of political sympathy.

Evidently someone told the President that the Republican party in the north called for another demonstration of devotion to the interests of the colored man since there have been many indications of late that the greatly increased colored vote in several of the critical Northern States has been wavering between the parties. This is obviously the explanation of the President's wholly indefensible attempt to revive political animosities in the South with a view to their use in the North. It needs no special knowledge of the situation to enable any person of good sense to see that the less attention either the President or any other Federal or party manager bestows upon the political interests of the Negro in either the South or the North, the better it will be for him.

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## THE BIRMINGHAM NEWSPAPERS AND PRESIDENT HARDING

Birmingham Ala. Reporter
Ala. 11/5/21

The Gadsden Journal thinks "the Birmingham papers are going to the limits of hospitality in persisting in their defense of President Harding's speech on the race question." Referring to The Age-Herald's claim that Mr. Harding's remarks were misconstrued, the Journal says that, along with other newspapers, it received a copy of the speech in advance, to which no corrections were sent, and, "therefore, it fails to see the point in The Age-Herald's statement that 'only a wilful distortion of his language as printed in the newspapers of the country could lead to any such foolish assumptions."

The points is that political demagogues and other critics of the President attributed statements to him which he did not make. They either did not read his address as published, or else failed to understand plain English. Some of the charges were so absurd and preposterous they were clearly based on hearsay which is usually the worst kind of misinformation. It was said here in Birmingham and elsewhere that Mr. Harding advocated intermarriage of whites and blacks and social equality. Nothing could be further from the truth. He took just the opposite stand. Just what he meant by political equality opens up a wide field for speculation, but with that exception he said nothing more on the race question than distinguished leaders of the South have been saying for the past 30 or 40 years.—Birmingham Age-Herald, November 2, 1921.

Race Problem - 1921 President Harding's Speech (Editorials)

United States

## PRESIDENT HARDING AND THE NEGRO.

In his striking address at the semi-centenary of Birmingham, Alabama, President Harding may have felt that h[illegible] as "in the enemy's country." His al[illegible]ion to "problems I am going to discuss frankly and honestly, whether you like it or not," was suggestive. And according to the news accounts the mass of white citizens greeted the address with cold stolidity, though the negroes applauded wildly, especially cheering the remarks about the fine work of colored soldiers in the World War.

BROOKLYN N.Y. EAGLE
OCTOBER 27, 1921

The President pl[illegible]ually against the existence of a politically solid South, and the political solidarity of the negro vote. He did not go too closely into the question whether the first is the cause of the second or vice versa. That would be like discussing whether the first hen came from an egg or the first egg from a hen. He hoped the time would come when negroes would vote for the best qualified Democrats, and Southern whites would vote for the best qualified Republicans.

There was real wisdom in the warning that the South must keep its negro population for economic reasons, sound sense in noting that the race problem in a form analogous to that which it takes in Alabama exists in many parts of the world, in Africa, in India, in Australia, that it is one of the great "problems of democracy" everywhere and must be settled justly without sacrificing the interests of civilization. How it should be settled seemed clear enough to him—equality in economics? Yes. Equality in educational facilities? Yes. Equality in politics? Yes. Equality socially? Never!

President Harding, as is his custom, avoided those specifications which make men traverse glittering generalities. Would political equality involve equality in the jurybox? Would educational equality be offered by taxing blacks for black schools and whites for white schools, as Vardaman suggested in Mississippi? Would social inequality maintain the Jim Crow cars in statu quo, forever and ever? Tripping over definitions is not a weakness of the Harding literary style.

Philosophically and historically considered, the compatibility of political equality with social inequality in a self-governing Democratic community is at least unproven. We suppose the nearest thing to an illustration now existent is the status of the negroes in the Bermudas, the Bahamas and Jamaica. But only in a very limited sense are these islands inhabited by self-governing communities. In practice, if any race is allowed equal educational opportunities with another, and equal power in determining taxes, which everybody must pay, equal show on the economic avenues to wealth and prosperity, some individuals will arise from that race with whom no sane person will hesitate to come in social contact. And when a Theodore Roosevelt entertains at dinner a Booker T. Washington, though a Washington is only one of millions of negroes, the principle of social equality for a race is established. Starting from that point all further differentiation as to social eligibility is dependent on the personal equation, on whether John Doe, white or black, is worth associating with.

We have noted that the negroes who heard President Harding cheered him. It is also to be recorded that Marcus Garvey, leader of the movement to secure "Africa for the Africans," impressed particularly by the President's argument for race purity, white and black, immediately sent to the Chief Executive a telegram of congratulation.

Considered from the viewpoint of practical politics, the President's utterance is accepted as lining him up with the "Lily-White" movement, which has dominated his party in Virginia and has strong support in North Carolina, in Georgia, and especially in Louisiana. That this means desertion of black allies, faithful for almost two generations, and inferentially the surrender of the party's status as the historic emancipator of slaves and champion of an oppressed race is the insistence of its critics. Certainly a Republican President, pleading with Southern negroes to vote for Democrats now and then, is a curious spectacle. But it is not new. The desperate efforts of Rutherford B. Hayes, another Ohioan, to split the solid South on the same lines began forty years ago. It was not successful. The party traditions established by Charles Sumner, and Benja[illegible] F. Wade, and Thad. Stevens could not be swept aside then. They are weaker now, but not by any means negligible.

Our fear is that the South is like Ephraim joined unto his idols; that it distrusts Republican Presidents even bearing gifts. Cynics might say that the gifts in this case are sawdust bags, not treasure bags. For what does the South care about getting for Democrats a half or three-quarters or nine-tenths of the negro vote, which is either not cast or not counted at any critical election and has no status at all in the party primaries that really select officials and make the general election a rubber stamp for white domination? Nevertheless President Harding is always worth listening to and always his remarks are worth a large measure of after-analysis.

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JACKSONVILLE FLA. METROPOLIS
OCTOBER 26, 1921

## OUTSIDERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR RACE PROBLEM IN SOUTH.

"I WISH that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up," President Harding declared in his address at Birmingham today.

This is the first time the President has spoken at length on the race question and his speech is evidently the result of careful analysis of conditions, because he chose to deliver it before an audience of Southern white citizens.

Taken broadly there is nothing in the speech to which the South can object, since Mr. Harding placed strong emphasis upon his opposition to race equality or anything approaching it, and equality is the very thing the Northern Republican party has sought to cram down the throats of white Southerners.

Race equality was never considered in the South by either white or black until ignorant outsiders openly advocated it. The very thought has caused true-blooded Southerners to revolt even at the discussion of the idea. President Harding expresses a fair but impossible ideal in the following words:

Herein, then is the true conception of inter-relation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for these who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride, equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material.

The Republican party injected the negro as a political factor. Left alone the South regards the negro as an economic problem, and will so regard him in the future if not forced to study him through political eyes, as the Republican party has forced it to do in the past, and is forcing it to do at the present time. The thought of racial equality has never entered a Southern mind except when suggested by a mind not familiar with the characteristics of the black race.

Social equality will forever be a thing impossible. The South will see to this. The worth-while leaders of the negro race, however, also place the proper emphasis upon the impossibility.

The race problem is not a sectional one, but a national problem, as President Harding points out in his speech. The South is under no more obligation to the negro than the rest of the nation is under obligation to him. When he stays in his place the negro has no better friend than the Southern white man; but narrow-minded, ignorant and contemptible outsiders have fed the black race with the idea of equality in all things, which is the reason for the South's attitude of self-defense. The Republican North has forced this attitude—a justified attitude it is, too.

If he is ever to advance the negro must help work out his own salvation, and here the real problem presents itself. Taken as a whole the black race lacks ambition, the very heart of progress and development. But as long as the proper relations are maintained the South is willing to "play square" with the negro, and has already done more for him than any other section of the country. The South has never attempted to crush ambition out of the black race; it has merely accepted the race as a fact and treated it as such.

The real race question is not between Southern white people and Southern negroes. Undisturbed the two races are not hostile to each other—furthermore they are friendly, each race holding its proper relation—but outsiders—the Republican party for one—have wedged the race question into politics and have given the negro a lot of false ideas and ideals.

President Harding's references to social equality would have been more timely in the North than in the South. The South already knows it will never be.

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Although the figures for the census of 1920 relating to this classification are not yet available, the progressive tendency of racial amalgamation is officially set forth as follows:

> "Whatever proportion mulatto future censuses may show for the Negro population, it is inevitable that the dissemination of white blood within the Negro population shall continue to embrace from period to period a larger proportion of that population, until in fact the entire Negro population is affected."

While neither the figures nor the conclusions of the census takers and makers are always to be accepted as infallible, they may be regarded as substantial evidence, when not inconsistent with other known facts in the case. It may also be contended that the dissemination of white blood among Negroes does not in itself constitute amalgamation, but it cannot be denied that it is a long step toward that process.

The history of the Negro in America has proved that the African is susceptible of assimilation, both in blood and in sentiment, into the full measure of Americanism. This is a matter of loss and gain so far as the race itself is concerned. The nation has profited materially and spiritually. The ultimate outcome is yet to be decided.

In the meantime as a predecessor of Mr. Harding in the presidential chair once phrased it. "It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us." The theory of "absolute divergence in things social and racial" is inconsistent with the increase of mulattoes in the South as revealed by the census figures. The declaration that "racial amalgamation there cannot be" becomes an empty sound in view of this situation. Mr. Harding will find it no easy task to get the white men of the South "to stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality" and to recognize that "fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between the races, that would stay the increase of the percentage of mulattoes.

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[illegible]ANTA GA CONSTITUTI[illegible]
OCTOBER 30, 1921

## THE BIRMINGHAM SPEECH.

The address of President Harding at Birmingham, in which he dealt at length with the race question, is a topic of national discussion.

At first, reports from Washington indicated that among democratic congressmen, especially southern congressmen, there was a strong inclination to condemn the address; but, as our Washington correspondent showed in his report in Friday's Constitution, after the address was read in full, studied and analyzed, many of those who first criticised it reversed their hastily expressed opinion from criticism to approval.

The president takes the position that with the constantly increasing migration of the negro from the south to the east and west, this is no longer a distinctly southern question, but that its solution affects the whole country. He believes **that** the problem can be worked out on well-defined principles of right and justice.

First and foremost among these is the principle that **there shall be no social equality;** that, as President Harding expressed it, "race amalgamation there cannot be;" and that it will be best for both races to recognize that as an established fact, thus making easier the solution of the whole problem.

Upon this point no southerner could have gone farther than the president went in this statement of his position.

The second principle is that the negro shall be given equal educational opportunities, which does not mean intermingling of the races in the school-room, but simply that the negro should be given a fair opportunity to develop the best that is in him—that, as the president puts it, he should be encouraged "to be the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

The third is that the negro shall be fully protected in what the president termed his right to "economic equality."

In no section of the country is the negro more fully protected in his economic rights than he is right here in the south. And if any criticism should have been expressed against the president's statement of this proposition it might have been expected more from the north than from the south, for the south has not sought to deprive the negro of his right to earn an honest living in his own way, whether in business or in the industries or professions; while, on the other hand, there have been repeated instances in the north where this right has been denied the negro—as illustrated, for example, by the riots of a few years ago in East St. Louis, Illinois, and in the frequent refusal to permit negroes to work in industral pursuits. Here in Atlanta, and in every other southern city, no question has ever been raised as to the rights of negroes to work as carpenters, bricklayers mechanics or what-not to earn an honest livelihood.

Fourth, the president's position as to the political rights of the negro cannot consistently be challenged, assuming, of course, that his intention was to consider the question in the broadest aspect of the "political rights" of protection under the law, as a citizen.

The position is one that broad-gauge, conservative public sentiment of the south must approve, and that, generally speaking, has had the approval of the best public sentiment of the south.

We assume, of course, that is the meaning President Harding intended to convey; that he did not have in mind the overthrow of the safeguards of the white primary system and that in advocating "political rights" he does not mean to impose negro office-holders on white communities where such service would be distasteful. That this is not his attitude is evidenced by the fact that as president **he has publicly sanctioned a movement to reorganize his own party in the south through white instrumentality and by actually deposing the negro committees.**

Further proof is added by the fact that, as president, he has consistently appointed only white men to office, not only in Georgia, but in other southern states.

This proves conclusively that it is not the president's purpose to impose negro office-holders upon the south, for if that had been his position the logical sequence would have been the appointment of negro republicans in the public service in this section.

The only possible construction to be put upon the president's position is that in all matters involving his rights as a citizen, the negro as the president sees it, is entitled **to the fullest possible protection** of the courts and political authorities in his rights to the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as guaranteed by the federal constitution, **always and at all times keeping in view the fact that in all social respects the two races must ever be apart and that it is best for both that they should be.**

Certainly, with this construction being thoroughly justified by the president's own official conduct in the matter of his own party reorganization in the south, there is not only no ground for complaint, but, conversely, every reasonable ground for approval, by our people, of the attitude expressed by the president in his Birmingham address.

And the very fact that criticism was changed to approval by the democratic congressmen and political leaders in Washington in a single day illustrates the fact that the speech, when analyzed, was far different from what it appeared to be when it was first presented to the critics under misleading headlines and misjudged upon immature consideration.

There is no reason why the whole so-called "negro problem" should not be solved along the very lines laid down by the president, and solved to the satisfaction of the whole nation, removing the race question as a political issue and enabling the people of every section—north, south, east and west—to consider all economic issues on their merits.

The day when that will be done is coming; and, so far as the south, at least, is concerned, the sooner it comes the better!

That development has been impossible up to this time simply because the racial issue has been paramount. **The republican party has kept it so!**

**It will continue to be paramount so long as there is danger of overthrowing or evading or nullifying the white supremacy that is provided for and guaranteed through the instrumentality of the primary election system.**

The primary system rests upon the bedrock of self-preservation.

Certainly, there is nothing in the president's address to cause any alarm on this score; while, on the other hand, his Birmingham address taken in connection with the attitude of his party in restricting negro representation in the national conventions, and practically reorganizing itself in the south on a basis of a recognition of white supremacy, gives abundant grounds for hope that the settlement of this vexed question that has long perplexed the nation, and especially the south, is at hand.

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PRINCESS ANNE MD HERALD
NOVEMBER 1, 1921

## NO SOCIAL EQUALITY OF RACES

### President Harding Says Equal Opportunity Along Separate Paths

The right of the American negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages, based on a pride of race but never on an aspiration for social equality, was championed by President Harding last Wednesday in a plainly-worded enunciation of his views on the whole American race problem.

The President's address, which took him from Washington on his first extended trip into the South since inauguration, was delivered at a semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of Birmingham, Alabama. It was devoted almost exclusively to the race question, although Mr. Harding also took occasion to praise the South for its industrial recovery and to renew his faith in the world leadership of a re-united nation.

These are some of the principles on which the President appealed to the nation to "lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms" and give support to a constructive policy of racial relationship:

"Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, provided on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial."

"I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote."

"I wish that both the traditions of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up."

"I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both."

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. This is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal, inescapable difference."

"Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it."

"The black man should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

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CORSICANA TEX SUN
OCTOBER 31, 1921

Some declare President Harding's discussion of the negro question in Georgia will have a bad effect. Others maintain that good will follow. The president said some things he should not have said. He said others that were sensible and practical considering that they came from the source they did.

Race Problem – 1921
United States

President Harding's Speech

(Editorials)

# The President on Race Questions

N Y CALL
OCTOBER 28, 1921

CAREFULLY phrased and bearing evidence of a polish that is not his, President Harding's speech on the race question at Birmingham may be regarded as a further approach of the old capitalism of the North to the new capitalism of the South. The Republican leaders have been striving to make a political bargain with Southern political leaders, the consideration being the acceptance of the Negroes as a permanent servile caste in the North and the South.

This idea of equality as it affects the Negro is a **"question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference"** between blacks and whites. He emphasizes this view when he says that **"there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial."** All of which can be reconciled with the black codes of the South with respect to traveling on trains, hotel accommodations, schools, theaters, etc. It assigns the Negroes to the status of a servile caste in both the North and the South.

These codes have their origin in the antebellum philosophy of the old slave-holding leaders, such as Toombs, Calhoun, Davis and McDuffie. There is a similarity between them and the views of the old Roman masters regarding their enslaved whites. In Rome and the old South the slaves were regarded as lower than humans and a stage just above animals.

The President went on to say that "colonizing countries everywhere have in recent times been more and more dealing with the problem from this point of view. The British commonwealth of nations and races confronts it, and has been seeking its solution along the lines here suggested."

This observation also confirms our interpretation of the address. The speaker could not have chosen a better illustration to convey his meaning. The treatment of the Negro Republic of Liberia by France, Great Britain and the United States; American imperialist rule in Haiti and San Domingo, and the treatment by the imperialist powers of the darker races in general is what the President has in mind. They have acted in these regions on the basis of "a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between whites and blacks. The old slave trade was devoted to stealing the bodies of the Negroes. Modern imperialism takes their lands and natural resources as well and reduces the natives to a servile caste.

Even in the matter of suffrage the President also gave utterance to a formula consistent with this approach of the old capitalism of the North to the new capitalism of the South: "I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote." This admirably expresses what the Southern ruling class has already accomplished in the way of excluding masses of white and black workers from the suffrage. Something of the old Roman view is found in this utterance, as it applies to workers regardless of their color.

This address by the leader of the Republican party marks a complete break with the old traditions of Lincoln, Sumner and Seward. It wipes out the last excuse for the support of either party of capitalism by any Negro voter. The Democratic leaders of the South have reduced the Negroes to a subordinate position and the Republican leader formulates this subordination into a national policy.

The black man is to be regarded as an ox to serve his white masters. Yoked with him are his white brothers in toil, who share his fate except for the social ostracism he bears because of his color. This significant speech should serve as a call to workers of all colors to cast aside any barriers to a common solidarity. They have a common interest in abolishing an economic system which implies the servitude of both and political disfranchisement for large numbers of their class.

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## A FEW GRAINS OF COMMON SENSE

Chicago Defender
12/17/21

IN COMMENTING upon the speech of President Harding at Birmingham the Atlanta Constitution, one of the most influential Democratic papers published in the South, among other things declared that, "Removing the race question as a political issue and enabling the people of every section to consider all economic issues on their merits, is the thing desired. The day when that will be done is coming; and, so far as the South, at least, is concerned, the sooner it comes the better."

IN THE ABOVE language we find a few grains of common sense, but the Constitution is evidently ahead of the times or else it does not reflect the dominant sentiment of the party to which it belongs, at least in that section. The elimination of the race issue from politics is the very thing that the average Southern Democrat is anxious to prevent. It is his sole stock in trade. He usually spends some sleepless nights in figuring out plans and schemes to keep the race issue before the public. As long as that issue can be utilized it is useless for him to consider or discuss an economic, domestic or foreign question.

IN THEIR DETERMINATION to keep this race issue fresh in the public mind reference can be made to the Brownsville incident of a few years ago when a few Mexicans were no doubt hired to simulate the Colored troops then stationed at Brownsville, in shooting up the town. Of course the civilized world was then notified that the "vicious" and "lawless" Colored soldiers had attempted to massacre the white people there. The probabilities are that this was a put-up job, the only purpose of which was to intensify and magnify the race issue for political purposes.

WHEN THE CONSTITUTION asserts that the elimination of the race issue is what the South wants we hope that it is right, but we fear that it is not for the present at least. If that day should ever come our vote at the South as well as at the North would no longer be solid in support of one party in opposition to the other. But then the occupation of the present political leaders of the South would be at an end because they would then have to be elected to office upon their merits and not upon a mythical race issue.

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## HARDING AND THE "SOLID SOUTH."

MISSOULA MONT SENTINEL
OCTOBER 27, 1921

Yesterday at Birmingham President Harding told the "solid south" a thing or two that will not be appreciated, we believe. "Let the black man vote when he is fit; prohibit the white man from voting when he is unfit to vote," said the president. That will not sit well in the south, where the colored man's vote has never been allowed to count for much.

However, that was not the really important or interesting part of the president's address. He championed the right of the American negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages, based on pride of race but never on hope for social equality. Black men, he said, should be encouraged to be the best possible black men and not the best possible imitations of white men. "Racial amalgamation there cannot be," he declared.

The president suggested an ideal treatment of the color problem. The black man should be encouraged and aided to make himself the best black man possible, but he should not try to become an imitation of the white man. We imagine that it was not altogether pride of race that made Mr. Harding say that. The white man's example to the negro, as a rule, has been bad, and his treatment of the negro has seldom been scientific.

The solution of the problem is the white man's responsibility. He brought the African here. That first shipload of slaves was freighted with more trouble than any other import ever to be unloaded on American land. And the end is not yet—not by a generation of generations, we fear. The black man is extremely numerous and he is propagating himself in a lively manner. Once he recognizes his strength, he will demand more and more. There will be resistance, of course. The white man will permit the negro few more privileges than he enjoys today. Then there will come about—but that is for future historians to write and not for us to guess.

The speech of Harding was that of a politician, not that of a statesman or a scientist. A statesman would have given constructive advice as to the black-and-white problem and its solution. A scientist, with knowledge of the biological history of the centuries, would have hesitated to say that amalgamation is impossible. A scientist might have said that amalgamation is not to be desired and a statesman might have sought ways and means to prevent it, but only a politician would have dared to make the flat statement that it is impossible.

That is one danger that we as a nation must guard against. The greater responsibility lies in the south, but the north is not altogether blameless. Biologically, we are facing the test that was too much for Greece, for Rome, for Spain, for Portugal. We are accepting too much foreign blood from Europe, as it is, and we are giving too much of our American blood to the black people among us. The result—well, we may read history and save ourselves the trouble of speculating. It is written there in large letters.

# THE COLOR SCHEMES IN AMERICA'S NATIONAL FABRIC

BURLINGTON VT. FREE PRESS
OCTOBER 29, 1921

President Harding dexterously plied the shuttle during his southern trip, and as a result the national weaver brought out more clearly than before the figure in colors that is gradually being evolved in America's racial loom. Unless we have given special study to the matter we may not fully realize the extent to which color schemes have figured in the fabric of our national existence.

At the outset of Anglo-Saxon development on the American continent, our color scheme was chiefly red and white and later on white and red, with the latter gradually approaching the vanishing point. The Custer massacre was about the last instance of the clashing of these two colors. Since that time these two hues as elements in our civilization have been gradually blending. With the present proposal to extend full citizenship to the Indians in the United States comes the prospect of complete absorption of the red and its ultimate swallowing up in the white.

Next we took up a study in white and black. About the time of our Civil War it became a study in black and white, and since that time the proportion of these colors has depended upon the political complexion of our national administrations, and other fortuitous conditions like the sudden apparition of a yellow peril from the Far East or a disturbing mixture of green and yellow tints from the British Isles.

Instead of "seeing red," therefore, Uncle Samuel of late has been either visioning through a glass darkly or seeing things yellow, just as Lloyd George now beholds a sickly green cast over his whole horizon. We have just begun to find grounds for hope of the complete dissipating of our yellow peril, when President Harding arouses us to new realization that America also has its black peril. If counter-irritants are wholesome and beneficial at times, it may be helpful for us to realize that our colored fabric at this particular time is black within while yellow on the outside, with emphasis on the color of the side at which we are looking at any particular time.

In our humble estimation our black peril is darker than our yellow peril. This is so chiefly because it is on the inside, internal, and not by reason of size or numerical formidability. A little ulcer in your stomach may be far more dangerous than a boil or even a carbuncle on the back of your hand. The aggravations and sacrifices we have undergone in connection with our black peril may account in part for our determination not to "take internally" any more color concoctions, but to keep them resolutely on the outside.

It is a striking coincidence that the one President to take up our yellow peril man fashion and in a practical way should also be the one to deal with our particular race question in an effort to reduce it to its lowest terms. Whether you regard our chief magistrate as a weaver of our national fabric, or as an artist dexterously handling colors or as a statesman dealing with race problems, you must concede to him a readiness to undertake his task, if not skill in its handling.

Indeed President Harding grouped both our national and our international perils together in the most helpful way. In his speech at Atlanta he declared that as Henry W. Grady, the southern editor and apostle of national reunion, pleaded for reconciliation between the different sections of a war-torn nation, so would the United States plead that a disrupted world turn into the paths of peace. The President preached the gospel of understanding and good-will, not only binding the North and South in close union but also bringing the world into co-operation and enduring amity. He thus applied the lessons of the one realm to the other, and made both more easy of access as fields of achievement.

It is the irony of fate, and the logic of partisan politics, however, that the Harding plea on Atlanta for good-will and co-operation of sections and nations should be completely overshadowed by the the rumpus started by his plea in Birmingham, Alabama, for acceptance of a permanent solution of the negro question. It took courage, to tackle this question in the heart of the negro zone of the South, but he spoke of "problems I am going to discuss frankly and honestly, whether you like it or not."

As a matter of fact President Harding condemned Republicans who tried to use the colored vote as a tool and promoted race solidarity as much as Democrats who seek solidarity of the white vote. In other words, he condemned both the solid South and the political solidarity of the negro as calculated to perpetuate and intensify the race question.

The political wisdom of this part of President Harding's utterance will readily appear when the student of politics recalls the part played by the manipulation of the colored delegates in the Republican national convention of 1912. This utilizing of the colored delegates from a section and a people that would elect no presidential electors was one of the grounds of contention between the Roosevelt and the Taft wings in that celebrated political struggle.

President Harding took the ground that the solution of the black problem would be found in the extension of political and economic equality to the negro without seeking to establish social equality. Whatever one may think about the feasibility of political and economic equality for the blacks nobody would dream of seeking to establish real social equality between whites and blacks. You might as well start out to declare and establish the social equality of the Hill and Battery street in Burlington, or Fifth avenue and the Bowery in New York. Social equality is not a matter of legislation but of individual conditions and choice.

A host of southern white people would readily accept President Harding's proposition that the South must keep its negro population for industrial and other economic reasons. As indicated by the Associated Press quotations of southern opinions in the Free Press yesterday, those same people reject most of the other positions of the President on the race situation. They hold that equality in politics and education is incompatible with the recognition of social inequality. Senator Harrison of Mississippi reflected southern white opinion thoroughly.

He deprecated the delivery of a speech of this character in the heart of the South, where in some States the negro population predominates. Full economic and political equality for the negro, he said, means that white women should work under black men in public places as well as in the trades and professions. It would mean that the black man can aspire to be president of the United States, hold cabinet positions and occupy the highest places of public trust. Place the negro upon political and economic equality with the white man or woman and friction between the races will be aggravated. Such a theory, he said, is unjust and it is destructive of the best ideals of America.

The unfortunate thing about a discussion of this kind is that the moment you touch upon its merits, Republicans and Democrats for the greater part at once line up on opposite sides, taking an extreme partisan point of view. The unpartisan though Democratic Brooklyn Eagle well sums up this phase of the situation:

"Considered from the viewpoint of practical politics, the President's utterance is accepted as lining him up with the 'lily-white' movement, which has dominated his party in Virginia and has strong support in North Carolina, in Georgia, and especially in Louisiana. That this means desertion of black allies, faithful for almost two generations, and inferentially the surrender of the party's status as the historic emancipator of slaves and champion of an oppressed race is the insistence of its critics. Certainly a Republican President, pleading with Southern ~~negroes~~ to vote for Democrats now and then, is a curious spectacle. But it is not new. The desperate efforts of Rutherford B. Hayes, another Ohioan, to split the solid South on the same lines began forty years ago. It was not successful."

Possibly when both sides have thoroughly analyzed President Harding's Birmingham speech, as many Republicans will condemn and as many Democrats applaud as there are now blindly partisan Democrats denouncing.

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COMMERCE GA NEWS
NOVEMBER 3. 1921

We are unable to see the boogaboo in
Harding's Birmingham speech. He did not
make a plea for social equality. Nobody wants
that. The negro himself does not want it. He
cally. It ~~might have~~ been better for all
cal economy. It might have been better for all
concerned if he had made not reference to ra
problems. The negro and the whites with
whom we live in the South, understand that
problem better than Mr. Harding does.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's. Speech

# RACE ISSUE IS INVADING NORTH, WHOLE NATION MUST SOLVE IT; PLEA OF HARDING TO THE SOUTH

OCTOBER 27. 1921

## Let the Races Develop Side by Side, With Equality Politically, Economically and Educationally, But Not Socially, He Asks at Birmingham—Let the Negroes Develop Leaders—South Needs Workers Now Drifting Away—Wants No Solid Black Republican Vote.

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*BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—President Harding's speech at the mass meeting here to-day, which was addressed not only to "the citizens of Birmingham" but the "people of the South," in full follows:*

I have been wondering, as we have seen the Birmingham district and the marvels of this region's industrial development, whether any of us have yet quite realized the significance of the fact that Birmingham has been called "The Magic City." The basic, characteristic industry on which modern civilization rests is iron and steel; and Birmingham is the world's last word in development of the iron and steel industry.

We have come here to pay tribute to the marvellous achievement of a brief half century to which this city and its industries stand as a monument. They testify to us how far the South has progressed in a single generation; the generation since slavery was abolished and the rule of free labor and unfettered industrial opportunity became the rule of all of our great Republic.

Somewhere my attention has been called to the legend, possibly a historical fact, that when Fernando De Soto was leading his expedition of exploration and conquest from Florida to the Mississippi some of his metal workers not only discovered the wonderful deposits of coal, limestone and iron ore in this area and told De Soto that here was an even greater treasure house than that which he was seeking; not an El Dorado of precious metals, but the opportunity for making the world's dominating iron industry.

I have been told, I do not know whether it is literally true, that the first reduction of iron in this district was actually accomplished by members of the De Soto party, who supplied certain of the expedition's needs by smelting some of these wonderful ores. But De Soto was led on by the mirage which filled his vision, and instead of the pot of gold he sought he found the mighty Mississippi and in it his grave.

So far as concerns more modern development, it appears that Gen. Andrew Jackson also utilized your mineral and metal riches. When he was on his march to New Orleans for the great battle in which the yeomanry of the South won the single notable land victory of the War of 1812, his metallurgists discovered that from these easily smelted ores they could supply their requirements of iron, of which they stood in great need. Accordingly, they erected rude furnaces and reduced considerable quantities of iron. From that time on there appears to have been more or less sporadic and intermittent utilization of these deposits, and during the Civil War they provided a considerable part of the needs of the South.

## Praises Genius South Showed In the War of the Rebellion

In this connection I have many times wished that there might be a wider appreciation of the energy, resourcefulness, and genius for industrial development which the people of the South demonstrated during that war. Essentially an aristocratic agricultural region, the South suddenly confronted the need to turn out iron and steel and a vast complexity of their products which were absolutely essential to the conduct of the war. Not only did they arise to the occasion, but they gave what I have regarded as one of the greatest demonstrations in all history of the possibilities of adaptation, organization, and industrial development under stress of great necessity.

We will do well to recognize that the industrial achievement of the South during the Civil War was one of the marvels resulting from that unhappy conflict. It marked the beginning of that diversification of industry which has made the South of to-day an industrial as well as an agricultural empire. I have often wished that some inspired son of the South might one day devote the time and effort necessary to record the history of that Aladdin-like industrial wonder which was a large part of the story of the South in the civil contest. It is one of the phases of American history that has had too little understanding attention.

When we have studied the Civil War we have been so engrossed with military and political aspects that we have slighted the industrial and economic phases. I am going to venture, therefore, the suggestion that a comprehensive study of that aspect of the war period would be of inestimable value to the South and to the great story of our national progress. Not only would it constitute an eloquent testimony to the genius and devotion of our Southern people, but it would present a picture of opening opportunity and widening horizon whose contemplation would challenge every remaining vestige of prejudice and sectional antagonism.

### *Industrial Growth in War.*

It has been a truism that the war between the States started the Nation as a whole in its way of colossal industrial growth. But I have wished that the particular story of that wartime experience in the South might be better known. I have been told of the almost overnight development of munition factories out of smithies; of the expansion of railroad repair shops into locomotive works; how shipyards, ordnance plants, powder factories were conjured up and put at work almost in the twinkling of an eye; of improvised industrial processes and mechanical contrivances, not a few of which have been of permanent value, some of them fairly revolutionary.

We will, I am sure, be forgiven if, as Americans, we remind ourselves that wooden navies had fought each other for thousands of years until Americans fell to fighting among themselves. Then came iron fighting craft—came so quickly and unanimously that both sides had their first armored warships ready at the same moment, so well matched that they fought to a draw. It was a revolution; yet it was only one incident in this matching of American genius and resourcefulness in titanic struggle.

The railway and the telegraph were first bidden to the service of war on a great scale during our civil contest. The huge ordnance which both North and South created and used was as sensational in that day as the most startling constructions of the World War were more than a generation later. In both South and North our people learned and demonstrated what it means to mobilize all the human, industrial, financial, scientific resources of a great community for the purposes of war. That, indeed, was the most characteristic and most revolutionary development of the great struggle.

When we had done with our war we had well-nigh made over the whole art of war. The old things were gone forever. By land or by sea both its material and its methods were sweepingly changed. Glory and glamour had been taken out of it and in their place had been put the grim, hard reality of whole peoples measuring against each other their last ounce of power and resources.

### *"How Fast Our World Moves."*

In that contest of industry and resources the South started with a fearful handicap; a handicap so great that its accomplishments constituted one of the industrial wonders of all time. It is to this wonder that I have wanted to call attention to-day, for I have felt that it has never been appraised as it ought to be. From that contest the South emerged not only with the foundation of industrial greatness securely laid but freed from the incubus of a labor system that had from colonial times chained it to the status of an almost purely agricultural community.

The industrial and commercial development of States and peoples has always been strikingly influenced by their wars; perhaps even more than their social and political development. That older war founded industry in the South under stress of sternest necessity; and so we may recognize in your Birmingham district and its industrial splendor one of the fine products of the industrial revolution which was forced upon the whole South.

We are gathered to-day to celebrate the semi-centenary of the founding of Birmingham. That this wonder could be wrought in so brief a time tells us how fast our modern world moves; so fast that we are wont to forget our yesterdays before our to-days are fairly begun; so absorbing in its concerns of the present that too often we have neither time nor interest for the morrow.

Yet there never was a time when we needed so much to study our past and, in the light of its lessons, give earnest thought to the to-morrows. So I have thought that here in your magic city, whose story seems a very compress of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow, it may be proper to suggest a few thoughts regarding the critical times which are faced by our country and all countries and some of the issues which command our consideration.

### *Race Problem Reaches North.*

Exhausted and affrighted by the horrors of the World War, the nations are seeking means to prevent repetition of such an experience. They see the need for effective reform in international relationships and, along with this, for many alterations and adaptations of domestic institutions which will better fit them for the new time. Our own country, though its necessities are less onerous, its difficulties not so grievous as those of many others, has yet occasion to consider wherein it may better its methods, adjust itself to the new relationships, and equip itself for the new sort of struggle that lies ahead. Concerning one phase of this national problem, I want to say a few words.

If the Civil War marked the beginnings of industrialism in a South which had previously been almost entirely agricultural, the World War brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the World War was marked by a great migration of colored people to the North and West. They were attracted by the demand for labor and the higher wages offered. The slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since.

**It has brought the question of race closer to North and West, and I believe it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question, it has made the South realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the North realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly different races are brought to live side by side.**

I should say that it has been responsible for a larger charity on both sides, a beginning of better understanding; and in the light of that better understanding perhaps we shall be able to consider this problem together as a problem of all sections and of both races in whose solution the best intelligence of both must be enlisted.

Indeed, we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet. Whoever will take the time to read and ponder Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on "The Rising Tide of Color," or, say, the thoughtful review of some recent literature of this question which Mr.

F. D. Lugard presented in a recent Edinburgh Review, must realize that our race problem here in the United States is only a phase of a race issue that the whole world confronts. Surely we shall gain nothing by blinking the facts, by refusing to give thought to them. That is not the American way of approaching such issues.

### *Full Citizenship for Both.*

In another way the World War modified the elements of this problem. Thousands of black men, serving their country just as patriotically as did the white men, were transported overseas and experienced the life of countries where their color aroused less of antagonism than it does here. Many of them aspire to go to Europe to live.

A high-grade colored soldier told me that the war brought his race the first real conception of citizenship—the first full realization that the flag was their flag, to fight for, to be protected by them, and also to protect them. He was sure that the opportunity to learn what patriotism meant was a real opportunity to his race.

**These things lead one to hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races, in which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves, and in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts regardless of race or color.** Mr. Lugard, in his recent essay, after surveying the world's problem of races, concludes thus:

"Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material."

Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individualist's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual.

### *Would Bar Social Equality*

Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word "equality" eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference.

Colonizing countries everywhere have in recent times been more and more dealing with the problem from this point of view. The British commonwealth of nations and races confronts it, and has been seeking its solution along the lines here suggested. There is possibility of our learning something applicable to our own country from the British. It is true that there is a great difference between bringing into our own land the colonists of another race and going out to another land and subjecting it and its people to the rule of an alien race. Yet the two cases have so many elements of similarity that it seems to me the experience of each must furnish some light upon the other.

Take first the political aspect. **I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.** Especially would I appeal to the self respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in Southern States, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment.

On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The Providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing.

### *Wants Leaders for Negroes.*

But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in **the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.**

I can say to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state.

Coming as Americans do from many origins of race, tradition, language, color, institutions, heredity; engaged as we are in the huge effort to work an honorable national destiny from so many different elements; the one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on.

**But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunately found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has risen superior to every appeal to mere class and group. And so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man.**

### *Would Divide Black Vote.*

It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the processes of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section.

**Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely of one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.** Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country.

I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation or foreign relations or what-not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We cannot go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues because of a division on race lines.

With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise I plead with my own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct.

Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions lie in persuading the black people to forget old prejudices and to have them believe that, under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race.

### *No "Half-Baked Altruism."*

Every consideration, it seems to me, brings us back at last to the question of education. When I speak of education as a part of this race question, I do not want the States or the Nation to attempt to educate people, whether white or black, into something they are not fitted to be. I have no sympathy with the half-baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color, and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manuel work of a workaday world.

But I would like to see an education that would fit every man not only to do his particular work as well as possible but to rise to a higher plane if he would deserve it. For that sort of education I have no fears, whether it be given to a black man or a white man. From that sort of education, I believe, black men, white men, the whole Nation, would draw immeasurable benefit.

It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Recent legislation to restrict immigration will be in part responsible for a slacking ratio of increase. The new immigrants have multiplied in numbers much the more rapidly, but as the immigrants become Americanized, amalgamated into the citizenry, the tendency has been toward less rapid multiplication.

So restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder, manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. It has been easy, indeed, but it has not been good for the people of our older stock, that a constant inflow in immigration made it possible to crowd off these less attractive and profitable tasks upon the newcomers.

I don't think it has been good for what the old Latins called the national virtue. That is a word I have always liked, employed in the Roman sense. I wish we might have adopted it into our vocabulary in this sense. It strikes me as a good deal better than morale.

Anyhow, we are under necessity to raise honest, hard, manual work to a new dignity if we are to get it done. We will have to make its compensations more generous, materially and if I may say it, spiritually; to make usefulness of service rather than **spotlessness of hands the test of whatever social recognition depends on the individual's occupation. I confess a large disgust with all such classifications, and I earnestly bespeak an attitude toward good, honorable, hard work that will end them.**

**I do not want to coddle and patronize labor; I want us all to get out, put on blue denims, roll up our sleeves, let our hands be honorably soiled, and do the work.. That's what we've got to do if we are to get on. We must do it, and be glad we can; for there is small chance that we will ever again have such armies of laborers landing on these shores as have come in the past.**

### *"Lay Aside Old Prejudices."*

In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population, and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable. At any rate, here is a problem and it is pressing for settlement.

Is it not possible, then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the Nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves **capable of doing this we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safety of our whole country regardless of race or sections and along the line of ideals superior to every consideration of groups or class, of race or color or section or prejudice.**

**Here are the reflexes of magical industrial development, here are the fruits in the making of a nation and its commitment to free productivity and trade. There is a materialism which sometimes seems sordid, but on the material foundation we have expanded in soul and we have seen this Republic the example to freedom aspiring throughout the world. We wish to cling to all that is good. We want to preserve the inheritance over which we fought because our conflict made it more precious. But we wish to go on as well as preserve.**

**The march of a great people is not a blind one. We cannot be unmindful of human advancement. We wish to be more than apace with progress—we wish our America leading and choosing safe paths. Fifty years is a narrow span. Yet the marvel of Birmingham is less than the marvel of our astounding America. And we mean to go on. If we are just and honest in administering justice, if we are alive to perils and meet them in conscience and courage, the achievement of your first half century will be magnified tenfold in the second half, and the glory of your city and your country will be reflected in the happiness of a great people, greater than we dream and grander for understanding and the courage to be right.**

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Hardings Speech

(Discussion)

# THE SOUTH, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE NEGRO

N. Y. C. OUTLOOK
NOVEMBER 16, 1921

LAST week's issue of The Outlook contained four telegraphic comments upon the President's Birmingham address from leaders of Southern opinion. These telegrams from Mr. Bolton Smith, ex-Senator Le Roy Percy, the Right Rev. Theodore D. Braiton, and Major R. R. Moton have attracted widespread interest.

After last week's issue had gone to press telegrams were received which it was impossible to print in last week's issue. Two of these we print herewith.

The first is from James Longstreet Sibley, now Extension Professor of Social Work in the University of Georgia. Mr. Sibley was formerly Superintendent of Negro Schools of the State of Alabama, and in that office proved himself a most practical idealist. Several years ago a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook spent a day with Mr. Sibley in a tour of inspection of the Negro schools in one of the more backward country districts of Alabama. In one school he remembers seeing Mr. Sibley administer a kindly but well-merited rebuke in a manner which was typical of his whole attitude towards his work.

Entering the schoolroom, Mr. Sibley caught a glimpse of a picture of Abraham Lincoln hanging very much askew upon the wall because a battered hat had been thrown over a convenient corner of its frame. Mr. Sibley quickly called the class-room of colored children to attention and asked, "Who hung a hat on that picture?" An overgrown boy of some thirteen years shuffled forward. "Ah reckon Ah did, suh."

"Do you know whose picture that is?" The boy scratched his head and answered: "No, suh, Ah don't 'zactly know." "Well," said Mr. Sibley, "that is a picture of Abraham Lincoln, the man who set your people free, and I don't want ever to see such disrespect shown his picture again."

Mr. Sibley is a grandson of the Confederate Lieutenant-General James Longstreet.

PRESIDENT HARDING in his Birmingham address upon the race question probably goes further than any other President since Lincoln in attempting to offer a solution which will ultimately prove acceptable to the white South, the white North, and the Negro. His frank acceptance of the two main contentions of Southern whites—namely, social separation of the races and the prevention of political domination of local governments by ignorant Negro voters—will do much to forestall criticism from this section.

His plea for economic equality is already recognized as just in many localities of the South. Political equality will eventually come to those Negroes who show themselves capable and worthy of exercising the franchise. This latter is a problem which will have to be faced by the intelligent leaders of both races of the next generation. It is generally recognized that our present disfranchisement laws are but a temporary expedient. In advocating the highest development of the Negro along racial lines, the President is but stating a consistent American policy, for each race can make a valuable contribution to American achievement. In sounding a warning that the Nation will not permit the South to keep the masses of the Negroes in ignorance, to be drained off to other sections of the country, the President is calling the attention of all to a very serious and very costly situation. He offers the South the co-operation of the Nation in working out the solution of the race problem, for he reminds us that the problem is no longer sectional, but is National.

It is to be hoped that the President's suggestions will ultimately be followed up by National aid to State Governments for the removal of illiteracy and suitable education for the Negro, for the South has had to bear the burden of Negro education almost alone for the past fifty years. Altogether the President speaks in a frank spirit of conciliation and offers co-operation in the solution of a most difficult problem.

JAMES LONGSTREET SIBLEY,
Extension Professor of Social Work,
University of Georgia.

The second delayed telegram which we publish was received from Dr. Bruce Ryburn Payne, President of George Peabody College for Teachers, of Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Payne has had a long and interesting career as a Southern educator. He has taught at William and Mary College and at the University of Virginia. He is a member of many educational societies, and is the author of "Elementary Curricula of Germany, France, England, and America." He holds degrees from Trinity College, North Carolina, and Columbia University.

His criticism of President Harding's address we publish herewith:

PRESIDENT HARDING asserts that social equality is repugnant to all people. He agrees with the South on that economic quality the Negro was rapidly acquiring before and during the war, for he had abundant industrial opportunity and was gradually gaining consideration of his claims among all laborers. Had it not been for the delay in the reorganization of the world market incident to the rejection of the League of Nations by Mr. Harding and his colleagues, the economic opportunity of the Negro would doubtless have continued uninterrupted.

Mr. Harding can himself promote the large economic opportunity for the Negro along with some millions of whites in America by helping to get some effective association or League of Nations, and so stabilize the world market in which the South normally se[illegible] its cotton. For the one supreme c[illegible]bution which the Negro is com[illegible]ete[illegible] make toward the economic [illegible]es the world is in the producti[illegible] cotton. The availability of markets for this product can more than anything else advance the industrial opportunity of the Negro people. As a fact of practical government there is but one way for the Negroes to get a chance to vote in any considerable numbers, and that is by the demonstration of the sane use of the ballot by those Negroes who now exercise it. For a great many do now vote. These voters have the opportunity to render a large service to their race, a service vague words will not render. Demonstrated facts in this matter would carry conviction, for President Roosevelt was right in his enunciation on this point when he said that the brains and character of each community must determine who is fit to vote.

Mr. Harding says that it is a matter of the deepest National concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance to be drained away by the processes of migration into all sections. Mr. Harding's head and heart are no nearer right on this point than are the heads and hearts of the majority of good citizens in the South. We all regret that we cannot give the Negro more education, but we cannot do it without increased resources for schools, and we cannot increase the resources for schools without increased wealth to be taxed for schools, or a diminishing of taxes for Government purposes, or additional help from the Government or outside sources. If Mr. Harding would only tell us how to do either one of these things, he would make a great contribution to a problem that vexes the soul of those of us upon whose shoulders it falls more heavily than it does upon any one else not intimately and constantly in contact with the situation. It is expensive to conduct two systems of schools, the one for whites and the other for blacks. Schools are maintained by the surplus profits made in industry. That surplus is not as great in this region as expenditures for adequate education for the two races require. It is therefore a practical problem of deep concern to the Nation which the Nation really never has seriously considered and which the South is not financially able to solve.

BRUCE R. PAYNE,
President George Peabody
College for Teachers.

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N. Y. C. OUTLOOK
NOVEMBER 9, 1921

FOUR distinguished leaders of Southern opinion give their frank views of the President's Birmingham address in this issue. They are Mr. Bolton Smith, of Memphis; ex-Senator Le Roy Percy, of Greenville, Mississippi; Theodore D. Bratton, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of that State; and Major R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute

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# SOME UNDENIABLE FACTS ON RACIAL OR SOCIAL EQUALITY

N.Y. Negro World

12/3/21

To the Literary Editor of the Negro World, New York City:

My Dear Sir—I have been thinking for quite some days of writing just to express my opinion as to, or in other words, about the speech delivered by President Harding at Birmingham, Ala., a few days ago, wherein he touched heavily on the race question as well as the building up of high ideals in Americans for good citizenship. Since I know that your paper is too valuable to attempt to take much space in discussing the subject, I shall try to be as condensed as is possible and at the same time make myself clearly understood.

I would like to say first—I do not feel that it is wise for me as a black man to attempt to criticize the President's speech, for he certainly did deliver a good speech, and went further up the right road than any President we have had since President Grant. I will admit that he did not say what I wanted him to say, nor perhaps what I would have said; it is also equally true that he did not treat the race question as I would have treated it and as many others are treating it, and I may add had he trated it as many of us willed him to do, would he had used common sense, or in other words, are we willing to go to Birmingham and say to that same group of people what we think he should have said? If not, we are far from the Golden Rule. I, myself, know that it is a matter of impossibility for the Negroes or Negro race to do what President Harding recommended that they should do. It is a physical, political, logical and biblical impossibility; for how can a people, a mixed race with at least 20 per cent., or in other words, more than two million (2,000,000) of what is styled to be the American Negro, as the sons and daughters of white men by black women so do. And for the white race of America, whether it be President Harding, Woodrow Wilson or any other statesman, to ask or demand of the Negro to take their sons and daughters and build up an original type with the traits of the black folks, is a request unreasonable as if one should ask God to turn hell into heaven and light into darkness.

And, too, it strikes me that the Negro should know for himself how to approach such subjects as racial equality or social equality. I want to repeat, myself in part, to say so as to make it clear to the world that I believe it to be not only unreasonable in the white man to ask me, being a pure black man, of honorable parentage and I am ever willing and ready to have assigned to me the perpetuation of the traits of my people, but for this American white man to demand of me to take his bastard sons and daughters for whom he so eagerly sought social relation with the Negro women and provision for himself; and upon this build up pure black traits, in other words, to make them—these sons and daughters, into my race being his blood and kin, is destructive to any fundamental principle, and is a request tha should make every human being of intelligence blush. We know that th majority of the Southern white peopl and a few of the Northern white folk are equally willing to dump their immorality on the Negroes of America. Then print them up in large headlines in the daily papers as being unable to wash their sins and make it whiter than snow. And because of said fact they cry out like a dog that has taken in unwholesome food, having vomited it up with a quivering lip, mouth leaking with filth, tail wagging with weakness out of disgust for his unwelcome burden just delivered from his stomach. There seem to be no other alternative to shield his own actions but to set up a howl between himself and his puke for no racial or social co-mingling or equality, and sign this low job to the American Negro. This he stands upon as his white supremacy. Therefore, I might say of President Harding—wisdom should have suggested to him to have left off the subject of social equality, since he should have known that to debate that subject in the South, or almost anywhere in America, would have meant physical death to him, and a wise man should decide if he cannot say anything that is right and truthful in its entirety, to leave it unsaid at all.

In conclusion, the people who are howling concerning social equality are the ones who sought it first, second and always from the days of slavery up until the present. Let the pretenders thing of the old maxim—

"Pendas Serias." — "Physician heal Thyself."

I am, respectfully,
P. P. SAMUEL.
Pastor of the new Mt. Moria
Baptist Church,
Philadelphia, Pa.

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# *Comments On Pres. Harding's Speech*

## PRESIDENT HARDING'S ADDRESS.

The Birmingham Reporter

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

Without wishing to be controversial about a subject in which there is some division of opinion, there is a decided conviction on the part of many of our most choice citizens that sheer justice demands that the President be not misinterpreted as seeking to offend Southern sentiment in his discussion of the race question on Oct. 26 at Woodrow Wilson Park. The sentiments expressed by President Harding are not new to Southern ears and even on the lips of the best people of the South. For forty or more years in the South these views have been expressed. In the early eighties of the past century, Bishop Atticus G. Haygood led in the expression of this same sentiment in the South and wrote in advocacy of right treatment of the Negro a valuable work known as "The Brother in Black." He was followed by Bishop Charles B. Galloway, and by men like Dr. J. L. M. Curry, in the same strain in which President Harding spoke. Others might be named in the same connection, but this is not necessary. These men were Southerners of the most chivalric type, and at least some of them had been original slaveholders. Only a few years ago Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, the scholarly and eloquent Episcopal rector of Montgomery, a native of Mississippi, wrote two books of philosophic importance on the race question, namely, "The Present South" and "The Basis of Ascendancy," which would be profitable to every thoughtful Southerner to read. All of those named shared in the spirit of George W. Campbell, of Tuskegee, through the efforts of whom Booker T. Washington was brought to Alabama.

I fail to discover the occasion of the objection to the utterances of President Harding. The Negro is a man and we cannot, yea, dare not, as accountable men, seek to treat him as less. Our moral duty is to seek to make the most of him. In proportion to his development and expansion into usefulness, he becomes a more valuable asset to society. It would seem that principles like these are sufficient to establish our relations to the question of race. With engaging frankness President Harding indicated the two barriers between the white and black races—amalgamation and social equality. This leaves a limitless orbit of life in the political economic and educational realms for the black man. What is to be thought of a white man who would not animate and stimulate a worthy Negro to make the most possible of himself and for himself and his race, as well as for civilization?

The deliverance of the President was a most timely one. To be sure, politicians in quest of partisan issues eagerly seize on any possible contortion of anything that the President might say in order to enhance their own advantage, but thoughtful men know how much importance attaches to these objections. If the same things had bee nsaid by a Democratic President, there would have been approval and not disapprobation. After all that may be said one way or the other, the fact remains that the dominant race of the South is the trustee of the black race. This is an obligation from which there is no escape or evasion. It is providential and would as well be faced once for all. If the Negro be a criminal punish him with the same degree of justice that is accorded to every other, but if he prove himself worthy and aspiring, it is less than human to withhold from him the merits of his just desert. So that when the whole matter is simmered down to its last analysis, what President Harding said is but a bare outline of absolute duty and obligation.

B. F. RILEY.

News, Nov. 1st.

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## THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Birmingham Reporter
11/5/21

To the Editor of The Age-Herald:

The President, in his Capitol Park speech, gave us full credit for our wonderful progress in alabama city building. He also opened up a new view of the Negro question which meets with approval by substantial southern people.

Three weeks ago, Frank Evans in a letter to The Age-Herald called attention to the extravagant way in which the city commission was spending money (for political effect) on white school buildings and utterly neglecting the colored school buildings, which are now a disgrace to the city.

Emmet O'Neal, the peer of any writer in the country on subjects he chooses to handle, gave an honest and clear approval of the President's speech, in Friday's Age-Herald.

The Rge-Herald's editorial, giving its keen, but not effusive analysis of the speech, shows its honest desire to aid the great work before the South.

No one will accuse these three of playing republican politics.

Heflin, Harrison and Watson, whose tongues wag in the middle, have made misstatements of the President's speech, putting in his mouth sentiments he did not utter. It will take statesmanship of the Underwood and Williams (Mississippi) order together with the southern people to settle this matter when the three worthies are forgotten.

GEORGE H. ROGERS.

Birmingham Age-Herald, October 30, 1921.

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# Harding's Speech Wins Approval

[illegible]

(By International News Service.)

CAMP BENNING, Ga., Oct. 27.—till a bit husky of voice from his trenuous day of speech-making in irmingham, President Harding arived here early Thursday morning or a visit of inspection on his way orthward again. The President is lue to arrive in Atlanta at 1:30 . m.

The soldiers of the past and of he future are represented in the present population of Camp Benning. Here, the government is refitting for civil life hundreds of hose who were incapacaited during the World War and training hundreds of future officers at the infantry school of the line for possible future wars.

Friends of the President believe his frank handling of the race problem at Birmingham will have a beneficial result upon the country generally, despite the marked coldness with which it was received by the white part of his audience and Birmingham generally.

Secretary of the Interior Fall is among those who approved the speech.

"It was the boldest and best speech on the question that I ever heard," said Fall. "To be clearly understood and appreciated it must be read, and I believe that when it is read it will receive general and whole-hearted approval."

Secretary of War Weeks said it was a history-making speech and that it had his hearty approval.

"It was a clear and concise statement of the race problem," said Governor Kilby of Alabama. "It has my approval."

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# HARDING IN

N. Y. Times

New York, Oct. 27, 1921.

11/6/21

*To the Editor of The New York Times:*

It is somewhat significant that President Harding's speech on the race question, at Birmingham, should have been made in a city which, according to a recent investigation of the United States Department of Labor, presents greatly superior living conditions for negroes than were found elsewhere in the South. It is also significant that Birmingham is possibly the only city in the South which has no race segregation ordinance. The separation of the two races is as distinct as in Charleston or New Orleans, but there is no ordinance which legally requires this separation. The economic condition of the negro in this industrial centre of the South, in contrast to the conditions in the Black Belt, has reacted very wholesomely on the community life of the race, and in this phase of the race question Birmingham singularly affords an example of what the President seems to desire in the way of economic opportunities.

The mining companies of this city build the same type of houses for their negro employes as for the whites. The quarters for negroes have the same advantages as those for the white employes. This physical condition is, of course, dependent upon how far the white employer cares to go in improving the living conditions of his workmen, and, unfortunately, does not touch the great mass of negroes. It has possibly no real part in the economic development of the race, whose real development must come from within, but it has had a vast effect upon the racial group, particularly in that section.

Birmingham, too, furnished one of the first examples in the country of a negro bank. When Virginia was laughing at the negro's application for a bank charter, the negroes of Birmingham had opened a bank of their own. And this city has only recently had attention drawn to a training school for negro nurses in connection with one of the hospitals of a large mining company.

There are library facilities in Birmingham for the negro population, and the marked improvement in the physical condition of the negro schools has made for a phase of educational promise, despite the great handicap which the South carries in her system of dual schools which has so long made for an unequal State appropriation for education.

Birmingham receives the annual overflow from Tuskegee, and its stratum of negroes represents the new order. The top layer is composed of negroes who have had their schooling in the South, who have gone, if not to the public schools, to Tuskegee or to the other now well-established negro institutions. From this rather thin layer is drawn the more competent teachers, the men and women who compose the professional class. They live well, and present a prosperous appearance. They care far less for outward display than do the uneducated class. But they are in the minority, whereas the stratum beneath them provides the large domestic class—the servants. There is still another stratum from which is drawn the negro land-owner. And still another layer which constitutes the economic group, which is found in the unskilled trades, while the lowest stratum consists of the uneducated negroes, those who live, hundreds and thousands of them, in the purlieus of shacks in the outlying districts of Birmingham.

But it is interesting that President Harding's discussion of the racial question, while focused on the South at large, should have been from an area for which so little of the old background of the South exists, by reason of its own youth, and yet which in many of its physical and economic phases of negro life furnishes cause for praise from Federal investigators.

ANNE KENDRICK WALKER

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# *Robert Crain Puts "O. K." On Birmingham Address*

(From The Baltimore Sun.)

Atlanta Ga. Constitution 11/10/21

Washington, October 28.—President Harding's Birmingham speech on the political future of the negro race in America was given the unreserved indorsement today of Robert Crain, prominent Maryland and Washington lawyer and one of the foremost democratic factors in the state.

Incidentally, Mr. Crain is the largest landowner in Maryland, his Charles county estate embracing more than 15,000 acres. He is one of the largest employers of negro labor in the state, but neither his personal relationship to the negro nor his prominence as a democrat has prevented him from approving the president's utterances in behalf of political equality for the negro.

Mr. Crain in his statement said:

"While I am opposed to many of Mr. Harding's political policies, I strongly indorse his speech delivered in Birmingham.

"President Harding, be it remembered, made it perfectly plain that the negro should never think of social equality. That puts an end to what has been considered in the south a troublesome question.

"In one word, the rest of the president's speech means that the negro should be treated as a human being in the making of laws and in construing them. For more than forty years I have watched the negro learn the lesson that the republican party was his savior. There was no truth in this lesson, but I have wished to live to see the negro convinced that his rights are protected alike by all political parties."

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's Speech

(Discussions)

## A MODERATE AND DISPASSIONATE DISAGREEMENT WITH PRES. HARDING

By Cyril F. Butler, Esq.

The Boston Mass. Guardian 10/29/21

At Birmingham, Alabama, October 26, President Harding delivered a plainly worded enunciation of his views on the American race problem. Every American, especially him of color, should read carefully this speech, devoted almost exclusively to the race question. Time and place render especially significant the President's views on this most vital of vital questions, proclaimed as they were in the heart of the South and on the eve of the Great Arms Conference soon to be convened at Washington

Even considering the moral and diplomatic necessity for Mr. Harding making himself clear at this time, in some form of words, on a question long the universally acknowledged "fly in the ointment" of American politics, and quite apart from the political strategy of the matter, it must be conceded that Mr. Harding reveals a high degree of moral courage in many of the things said. While at times he approaches even if he does not attain the discreditable position of truckling with the despicable Southern spirit.

That the race problem in the United States is only a phase of a race issue confronting the whole world, we agree and we do not deny that its solution lies largely in political and economic opportunity "equally proportioned to the honest capacities and desserts of the individual." Nor do we take issue with the President when he says "I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote," This, too, is no new sentiment with us.

When the President recommends education for the black man, when he points out the economic advantage to accrue to the South from the attitude of dealing "quite fairly" with him, when he utters all these things, the chief executive is giving advice the practical value of which even the South can appreciate.

The quotation from Mr. Lugard's essay indorsed by the President and here appended, carries our approval in all but the last clause which is dubious and contradictory:

"Here then is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity, and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material."

But when Mr. Harding speaking of the impossibility of social equality urges "recognizing a fundamental eternal and inescapable difference" between the two races, obviously he is addressing himself to the black man. His advice here is utterly negligible if carried out in letter only. What can it profit the country, or even the South if the black man recognizes such a thing? And how is he to recognize it? Mr. Harding means to infer that which he dare not avow. And the colored American frowns at the idea because he is too sensible of his own God-given worth of his own peculiar racial manhood, and of the fact that no man is his superior except as merit, ideals and virtue make him such.

I am absolutely at a loss to understand why we are referred to as a "distant race" nor caan I comprehend the new principle of "natural segregation" of which the President speaks approvingly. He says it exists in certain urban and rural southern communities and springs from the self-respect of the Colored race. I am constrained to confess ignorance of what the term means; but I do know it looks dangerous enough; it looks as though we shall henceforth be segregated against on the theory that nature itself has done the dirty business.

The President is very emphatic in his desire to shatter the traditions of a solidly Republican black race. A great compliment this to the faithful Colored Republican leader. Here Colored Americans, is indeed abundant food for thought.

Finally Mr. Harding indulges in plain Anglo-Saxon language; even then his meaning is obscure. Says the President:

"I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

Here Mr. Harding is inconsistent without, let me be charitable and say, intending to be so. By implication he would acknowledge the white man's superior worth, and, though insisting on education, would deny the black man the right to imitate that superior worth at the same time measuring him by the white man's standard.

This last was no doubt intended for southern consumption without regard to its inherent quality or its inherent taste. The President might with as much reason warned against the Italian imitating the American or the Jew aspiring to be as much like the Gentile as possible or the canary attempting to do jack rabbit antics.

Considered in toto the speech is about as statesmanlike as the exigency of time and place, particularly the latter permitted. To the Colored American, however, it conveys nothing new and nothing encouraging.

LATE PRIV. CHESTER A. WELLS

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# Says Harding Talk Lost Negro Votes

## Urban League Secretary Reviews City Election

### J. H. Hubert Thinks Birmingham Speech and Growing Independence Are Factors

N Y C POST
NOVEMBER 17, 1921

For the first time in history, the negroes in Harlem, Republican by tradition, scratched their ballots or voted Democratic in the last city election. This was due in part, explained James H. Hubert, executive secretary of the Urban League, 2303 Seventh Avenue, to President Harding's Birmingham speech. It is estimated that 90 per cent of the 125,000 negroes in the district voted for Hylan.

"The negroes took President Harding at his word," said Mr. Hubert. "In his speech at Birmingham President Harding said that the time had come when the negroes and the whites should not divide politically along color lines, all the whites Democratic and all the negroes Republican. A great many negroes have mentioned that speech to me, and said that in this election they were going to show the President that such a thing was possible. This year they scratched their ballots.

"So far the negro has not voted; he has just marked his ballot. And he has always marked it Republican on account of what the Republican party did for him fifty years ago. Now the negro is beginning to vote and to vote for men and for issues rather than political parties. Colored newspapers are beginning to write on issues such as the 5-cent fare, rent legislation, and schools, and at this election the negro thought a good deal about it and used his judgment."

There were other local issues, however, which caused Harlem to go almost solidly for Hylan.

"Tammany Hall has done a whole lot to buy votes," said Mr. Hubert. "I guess as few people in Harlem sold their votes as in any other district, but the reports are that there was more giving away of money and liquor than in any other year."

## Hylan Good to Harlem

Then too, Mr. Hubert said, Harlem has got a good many things out of the city administration. They had been trying to get a bath house in Harlem for ten years, and failed. This administration gave it to them. They also got an armory and a new public school. These were tangible things that the negroes thought Hylan had done for them.

Then, too, the negroes felt that Hylan was a "man of the common people," as did many other districts.

"He has always been very kind about doing little things for the district," said Mr. Hubert. "If you ask him to come and speak, it doesn't matter how few there are, or of what nature the meeting is, he'll come. Thinks like that, along with the constructive things he's done for Harlem, make the negro feel that they have had a friend and a man to count on for aid."

The reaction of the negroes to President Harding's opinion that the white and the negro race should never mix socially has been overshadowed, Mr. Hubert said, by their appreciation of his plea for economic and political justice for the negro.

"We feel that if you give the negro the equal political and economic opportunity he should have, and which President Harding said he should have," said Mr. Hubert, "he will get into the race and prove what kind of stuff he is made of. President Harding's going down there and saying things that no other public official has dared to say has been a very significant thing for the negro race."

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## PLATITUDINAL PALLADIUM OF INTERRACIAL NEW THOUGHT."

By Monroe Mason, World War Veteran

Boston, Mass. Guardian 10/29/21

Many of the principles on which the President exposited in his recent speech at Birmingham, Ala., are old sayings hatched up since the days of the Civil war reconstruction, only said in a different manner.. He averted that "politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation provided on both sides there shall be recognition of absolute divergence in things social and racial." Also that "both races should stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality regarding it not as a question of social status, but a difference miscapable, eternal and fundamental."

"There can be no amalgamation but a partnership is offered to develop which have been set already." All men are born free and equal but the President prefers that "black men," admitting that they are human beings "should seek and be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man," a preposterous parallel without any proof and does not square with psychologic ideas of the new thought, that really a "new day" has arrived and the President and prejudiced south have become imbued with this condition, that many of that section's evasions can be tolerated no longer.

He refers to the migration north and west of the race because of economic conditions evisting during the World War making the race problem national rather than sectional.

He quoted Lothrop Stoddard's book on the Rising tide of Color and Mr. F. D. Lugard's recent Edinburg review making the race problem in this country only a phase ofwhat the whole world confronts.

The President seems to be groping for words when he suggests "the true way out" and he mentions limitations of the individual's opportunity, "when he suggests only a possibility of economic equality between the races, his interpretation being "that in each case should be equally proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual."

He becomes dogmatic and proposes elimination of the word 'equality' and submits in its place " a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference,"sic—whatever that means.

"Natural segregation" is the newest phrase for pure and simple "segregation," as innocent as it sounds, claiming that it satisfies natural inclinations which should add to happiness and contentment, a conclusion which is misleading. He grants the privilege that the fit black man should vote and prohibit the unfit white man voting with the assumption that this is the principal political aspect, appealing for racial self respect, hoping to inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a "distant race" with a hereditary set of traditions, an array of aspirations of its own. He also insists upon equal educational opportunity for both. He qualifies this by using the term 'equality' from one generation to another, which is a truth as far as it goes, but suggests limitations after establishing a fact. He colors the suggestion with a sophistry that this education must be brought about to enable them to develope their own leaders who will inspire the race with 'proper ideals' of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny.

According to the best evidence adhuced the race has possessed that since emancipation in the former aspect. In the latter where 'national pride' is used, we presume he means 'patriotism,' or love of country—God Almighty knows they have demonstrated that since the days of the revolution to the present era of World War distraction.

He abhors the development of group and class organization, regarding that conditions to the work of unscrupulous demagogues. His narrative in regard to laying aside old prejudices was matchless and reminded one of the "Rooseveltian" ideals when that personage on some of his periodical visits to the same section made many memorable and graphic allusions in speeches on the same subject that we are discussing. The Tribunes in the Roman forum never concluded their orations with any loftier phrases than these:—

"Is it not possible, then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves capable of doing this we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safeguard of our whole country regardless of race or sections and along the line of ideals superior to every consideration of grups of class, of race or color or section or prejudice."

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# NEGROES HERE CALL FOR SOCIAL EQUALITY

N.Y. Times

## Educational Forum Censures President Harding for Denying Aspiration.

11/7/21

## CALLS VIEW UNDEMOCRATIC

### Repudiates Marcus Garvey's Approval of President's Birmingham Speech.

The People's Educational Forum, an organization to advance the interests of negroes, passed a resolution yesterday in which President Harding's speech at Birnmingham, Ala., in which he said negroes should not aspire to social equality, was declared to be undemocratic and opposed to the true spirit of racial co-operation and destructive of "the social and political safety of our whole country."

"This body firmly holds that the social safety of our country can rest securely upon no other foundation than the social equality of all its citizens," says the resolution. "In fact, the growth and stability of any social organism are in direct proportion to the unrestricted and harmonious intercourse of its component members. Recognition of this social principle can in no wise interfere with the free play of those nearer human relationships which must always be dependent upon and regulated by individual tastes and preferences.

"Whereas, lacking a final authoritative word of science as to the merits of social amalgamation, this body cannot accept the President's dogmatic pronouncement as to 'fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference between the races.' It holds that no such differences exist and that no race can have 'an array of aspirations all its won.'

"While it is clear that the President started in the right direction when he envisaged the problem as neither sectional nor national but international, it is most unfortunate that he should have chosen for his model the policy of the British Empire, which, because of its economic, political and social inequalities, finds not alone its unity, but its very existence challenged today to the point of disruption.

"Be it resolved, That this body, composed of persons of various political faiths and different races earnestly protests against such a policy and emphatically repudiates the slavish endorsement of this doctrine of social inequality by Marcus Garvey, who in a telegram to the President arrogated to himself the right to speak for the entire negro race and to accept for it a position of social inferiority which will forever fasten upon this race the shackles of segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, legal injustice, peonage, lynching and all other despicable and injurious forms of social degradation. It concedes to the President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association the right to speak for his organization when duly authorized, but denies to him or to any other individual of whatever race or station the power to portray a race as servilely consenting to its own debasement. And be it further

"Resolved that this body, believing that the spirit of true democracy is not entirely banished from the hearts of those who came to this land in quest o fequal opportunity, calls upon those who love liberty and seek justice to join with it in an unflinching and unshakable determination to keep aloft the flaming torch of liberty, which alone can light the way to that higher civilization which sall at last be firmly founded on te brotherhood of man."

The resolution is signed by Clarence A. Corpenter and Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman and Secretary of the forum.

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# NEGRO LEADER SAYS HARDING INCONSISTENT

MINNEAPOLIS MINN NEWS
OCTOBER 28 1921

## Says He Has No Wish to Leave His Race But Has Right to White Friends.

President Harding undoubtedly meant well in his speech at Birmingham, Ala., Tuesday, said William R. Morris, prominent Minneapolis negro attorney today.

But the president is wrong, he said, in saying in one breath that America must have no group and class organizations, and in the next that there should not be social equality between the races.

"President Harding, in saying 'the negro should aspire to be the best possible black man, not the best imitation of white man,' might as well say that the Irishman or Swede should strive to be the best possible Irishman or Swede, not the best possible American," he said. "I have no ambition to leave my own race and join the white race, as a race. But if I should have certain congenial friends and associates among the whites, and either of us should be ostracized by his own race for intermingling—it is utterly wrong. It is unfair to both sides."

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# HARDING SPEECH "SOP TO SOUTH," NEGROES ASSERT

## Secretary of Advancement Association Points Out the President's Inconsistencies.

N Y C CALL
OCTOBER 28, 1921

President Harding's Birmingham speech, in the view of representative Negroes here, although unusually unspoken for a Presidental utterance, in effect really means nothing.

By his insistence on continuation of the "social differentation" between Negroes and whites, the President, these men said, had to all intents and purposes canceled the force of his fine, brave-sounding pleas for economic and political equality.

James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, characterized the speech as, rather than the rebuke to the South which many held it to be, for all practical purposes a "sop" to the whites of that section.

Mr. Johnson said that he would consider it a miracle if the reforms outlined by Mr. Harding were achieved under Mr. Harding's present policy.

**Points Out Inconsistencies.**

"President Harding affirms that we should grant the minimum of democracy to the Negro," said Mr. Johnson. "This means political, economic and cultural equality, the least that can be granted without enslaving a portion of the people. But these can only be granted by giving the Negro social equality; and if President Harding does not mean these when he says social equality, I cannot conceive what he means. Then he states expressly that the Negro should ask for this 'social equality,' and thus apparently contradicts himself in the same speech."

"In his speech," continued Mr. Johnson, "the President first quotes Lugard in saying that there must be 'race segregation,' and then declares that we must avoid class organizations. It seems to me that the President would find it difficult to reconcile these two statements.

"The statement that the Negro should be the best black man that he can instead of an imitation white man is a bit of naive egotism on the part of the President. If social equality is granted to the Negro all the political and economic advantages will follow, while if social inequality is maintained these advantages will be perhaps fatally hindered."

Mr. Johnson suggested that President Harding's speech might have been inspired in part by the widespread dissatisfaction of the colored people with the administration. The President has neither appointed the customary Negro officials nor supported the measures in which Negroes are vitally interesed, according to Mr. Johnson.

**What Harding Can Do.**

"If President Harding wishes to put his reforms into effect," said Mr. Johnson, "he should actively support the anti-lynching bill, and encourage Federal aid for the Negro schools. Reduction of southern representation would be one way to force the South to give the Negroes their political rights. Thousands of colored people were disenfranchised in the President's own election, by the way. It would take a constitutional amendment to pass a national election law, I am afraid, and I feel that on all questions the action of the individual states is more important and significant than any action the federal government could take."

Mr. Johnson emphasized, however, that he did not mean to suggest that the President's utterance is not a thing of first importance. It has let a "shaft of light" in on the South, he declared.

"It shows the South the national importance of the question which they have always held to be exclusively sectional," he said. "It recalls the brilliant work of the Negro soldiers in the war. And its summing up of the political and economic needs of the Negro should be of the greatest help in our work for the advancement of colored people."

But without something more than mere words to back it up, he pointed out, it cannot but remain simply gesture.

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# Harding's Racial Speech Answered By Hardwick

Atlanta Constitution

## Exercising Diplomacy, Governor Advises Watson Not to Tear His Shirt.

10/30/21

Macon, Ga., October 29.—(Special.) Exercising the same diplomacy he used a week ago in issuing a prepared statement, Governor Thomas W. Hardwick by word of mouth today told Senator Thomas E. Watson not to tear his political shirt over the present state administration and incidentally touched in a high spot on President Harding's Alabama speech on the race question in his speech at the Georgia State fair.

The chief executive took occasion to say that there "is no place on the face of the earth where the white and black man live in more understandable harmony than in Georgia; that there is nowhere under the sun where it is better for a good negro to live or worse for a bad one. Incidentally, we don't need any foreign instruction on how to handle or get along with the negro."

In the main the governor's speech was the same deliverance he has been making at county and district fairs throughout the state for a month or more.

**Replies to Watson.**

The governor took occasion to give what was taken as a reply to the recent criticisms of Senator Thomas E. Watson.

"There is an army of trustees upon the state," he said. "There are over a thousand employees of boards and commissions, these latter were foisted upon us in that day when because of conditions, it became something of a habit to regulate everybody's business in this country; something with which I have never had any patience, and in which I have never believed.

"A certain friend of mine says I have not done enough to abolish. I want to say that so much attention has been demanded in the efforts to get or begin to get the financial ox out of the ditch that there has not been time to do many things that might otherwise have been accomplished.

"I urged and begged the legislature and the people to give attention to these useless sinecures. It is no fault of mine if the legislature refused to do what I asked to be done and it was not in my province to do more than so far has been done, for the day has not come when the governor of Georgia is the boss of the legislature or of the people.

"I can only form my conclusions and recommend to the legislature what they should do; I cannot make them do it."

Closing his address with a tribute to the people of Georgia:

**The Two Races.**

"Now, where on the face of the earth are the white man and the black more harmonious than in Georgie and in the south? There is no spot on this globe where it is better for a good negro to live than in Georgia; but it is a bad place for a bad negro to try to live. And I'm glad it is so, for if otherwise, our good negroes might turn bad. In the south—this part of the south—our people do not need any foreign instructions on how to deal with and handle the negro."

From engagements in more southerly points in the state the governor arrived in Macon this morning, and was escorted to the Dempsey, where he was met by members of the staff and the local committee, headed by Dr. Holmes Mason. Mrs. Hardwick, accompanied by Mrs. W. W. Banks and Mrs. Weisbers, came through the country in Mrs. Hardwick's car and joined the governor's party at the Dempsey.

The staff members who were he are: Colonel W. W. Banks, Atlant chief of staff; Adjutant General

n Holt Nash, Atlanta; Lieutenant-Colonel D. B. Blalock, secretary to the governor; Lieutenant L. M. Sellars, Grantville; J. B. Roberts, Ball Ground; L. Z. Wilkes, Brunswick; McPhail, Doerun; Jones, Woodbury; D. R. Dure, Macon; Earl Camp, Dublin; B. B. Zellars, Hartwell.

With a military escort of a band and two companies, the governor's party was accompanied by a number of Macon citizens in automobiles from the Dempsey to fair grounds, where, in the grand stand at the race track, Governor Hardwick was introduced by Roland Ellis.

Race Problem - 1921
United States.

President Harding's Speech at Birmingham, Ala.

# RACE ISSUE IS INVADING NORTH, WHOLE NATION MUST SOLVE IT, PLEA OF HARDING TO THE SOUTH

## Let the Races Develop Side by Side, With Equality Politically, Economically and Educationally But Not Socially, He Asks at Birmingham—Let the Negroes Develop Leaders—South Needs Workers Now Drifting Away—Wants No Solid Black Republican Vote.

N.Y. World 10/27/21.

*BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—President Harding's speech at the mass meeting here to-day, which was addressed not only to "the citizens of Birmingham" but the "people of the South," in full follows:*

I have been wondering, as we have seen the Birmingham district and the marvels of this region's industrial development, whether any of us have yet quite realized the significance of the fact that Birmingham has been called "The Magic City." The basic, characteristic industry on which modern civilization rests is iron and steel; and Birmingham is the world's last word in development of the iron and steel industry.

We have come here to pay tribute to the marvellous achievement of a brief half century to which this city and its industries stand as a monument. They testify to us how far the South has progressed in a single generation; the generation since slavery was abolished and the rule of free labor and unfettered industrial opportunity became the rule of all of our great Republic.

Somewhere my attention has been called to the legend, possibly a historical fact, that when Fernando De Soto was leading his expedition of exploration and conquest from Florida to the Mississippi some of his metal workers not only discovered the wonderful deposits of coal, limestone and iron ore in this area and told De Soto that here was an even greater treasure house than that which he was seeking; not an El Dorado of precious metals, but the opportunity for making the world's dominating iron industry.

I have been told, I do not know whether it is literally true, that the first reduction of iron in this district was actually accomplished by members of the De Soto party, who supplied certain of the expedition's needs by smelting some of these wonderful ores. But De Soto was led on by the mirage which filled his vision, and instead of the pot of gold he sought he found the mighty Mississippi and in it his grave.

So far as concerns more modern development, it appears that Gen. Andrew Jackson also utilized your mineral and metal riches. When he was on his march to New Orleans for the great battle in which the yeomanry of the South won the single notable land victory of the War of 1812, his metallurgists discovered that from these easily smelted ores they could supply their requirements of iron, of which they stood in great need. Accordingly they erected rude furnaces and reduced considerable quantities of iron. From that time on there appears to have been more or less sporadic and intermittent utilization of these deposits, and during the Civil War they provided a considerable part of the needs of the South.

## Praises Genius South Showed In the War of the Rebellion

In this connection I have many times wished that there might be a wider appreciation of the energy, resourcefulness, and genius for industrial development which the people of the South demonstrated during that war. Essentially an aristocratic agricultural region, the South suddenly confronted the need to turn out iron and steel and a vast complexity of their products which were absolutely essential to the conduct of the war. Not only did they arise to the occasion, but they gave what I have regarded as one of the greatest demonstrations in all history of the possibilities of adaptation, organization, and industrial development under stress of great necessity.

We will do well to recognize that the industrial achievement of the South during the Civil War was one of the marvels resulting from that unhappy conflict. It marked the beginning of that diversification of industry which has made the South of to-day an industrial as well as an agricultural empire. I have often wished that some inspired son of the South might one day devote the time and effort necessary to record the history of that Aladdin-like industrial wonder which was a large part of the story of the South in the civil contest. It is one of the phases of American history that has had too little understanding attention.

When we have studied the Civil War we have been so engrossed with military and political aspects that we have slighted the industrial and economic phases. I am going to venture, therefore, the suggestion that a comprehensive study of that aspect of the war period would be of inestimable value to the South and to the great story of our national progress. Not only would it constitute an eloquent testimony to the genius and devotion of our Southern people, but it would present a picture of opening opportunity and widening horizon whose contemplation would challenge every remaining vestige of prejudice and sectional antagonism.

### *Industrial Growth in War.*

It has been a truism that the war between the States started the Nation as a whole in its way of colossal industrial growth. But I have wished that the particular story of that wartime experience in the South might be better known. I have been told of the almost overnight development of munition factories out of smithies; of the expansion of railroad repair shops into locomotive works; how shipyards, ordnance plants, powder factories were conjured up and put at work almost in the twinkling of an eye; of improvised industrial processes and mechanical contrivances, not a few of which have been of permanent value, some of them fairly revolutionary.

We will, I am sure, be forgiven if, as Americans, we remind ourselves that wooden navies had fought each other for thousands of years until Americans fell to fighting among themselves. Then came iron fighting craft—came so quickly and unanimously that both sides had their first armored warships ready at the same moment, so well matched that they fought to a draw. It was a revolution; yet it was only one incident in this matching of American genius and resourcefulness in titanic struggle.

The railway and the telegraph were first bidden to the service of war on a great scale during our civil contest. The huge ordnance which both North and South created and used was as sensational in that day as the most startling constructions of the World War were more than a generation later. **In both South and North our** people learned and demonstrated what it means to mobilize all the human, industrial, financial, scientific resources of a great community for the purposes of war. That, indeed, was the most characteristic and most revolutionary development of the great struggle.

When we had done with our war we had well-nigh made over the whole art of war. The old things were gone forever. **By land or by sea both its material and its methods were sweepingly changed. Glory and glamour had been taken out of it and in their place had been put the grim, hard reality of whole peoples measuring against each other their last ounce of power and resources.**

### *"How Fast Our World Moves."*

In that contest of industry and resources the South started with a fearful handicap; a handicap so great that its accomplishments constituted one of the industrial wonders of all time. It is to this wonder that I have wanted to call attention to-day, for I have felt that it has never been appraised as it ought to be. From that contest the South emerged not only with the foundation of industrial greatness securely laid but freed from the incubus of a labor system that had from colonial times chained it to the status of an almost purely agricultural community.

The industrial and commercial development of States and peoples has always been strikingly influenced by their wars; perhaps even more than their social and political development. That older war founded industry in the South under stress of sternest necessity; and so we may recognize in your Birmingham district and its industrial splendor one of the fine products of the industrial revolution which was forced upon the whole South.

We are gathered to-day to celebrate the semi-centenary of the founding of Birmingham. That this wonder could be wrought in so brief a time tells us how fast our modern world moves; so fast that we are wont to forget our yesterdays before our to-days are fairly begun; so absorbing in its concerns of the present that too often we have neither time nor interest for the morrow.

Yet there never was a time when we needed so much to study our past and, in the light of its lessons, give earnest thought to the to-morrows. So I have thought that here in your magic city, whose story seems a very compress of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow, it may be proper to suggest a few thoughts regarding the critical times which are faced by our country and all countries and some of the issues which command our consideration.

### *Race Problem Reaches North.*

Exhausted and affrighted by the horrors of the World War, the nations are seeking means to prevent repetition of such an experience. They see the need for effective reform in international relationships and, along with this, for many alterations and adaptations of domestic institutions which will better fit them for the new time. Our own country, though its necessities are less onerous, its difficulties not so grievous as those of many others, has yet occasion to consider wherein it may better its methods, adjust itself to the new relationships, and equip itself for the new sort of struggle that lies ahead. Concerning one phase of this national problem, I want to say a few words.

If the Civil War marked the beginnings of industrialism in a South which had previously been **almost entirely agricultural, the World War** brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the World War was marked by a great migration of colored people to the North and West. They were attracted by the demand for labor and the higher wages offered. The slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since.

**It has brought the question of race closer to North and West, and I believe it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question, it has made the South realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the North realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly different races are brought to live side by side.**

I should say that it has been responsible for a larger charity on both sides, a beginning of better understanding; and in the light of that better understanding perhaps we shall be able to consider this problem together as a problem of all sections and of both races in whose solution the best intelligence of both must be enlisted.

Indeed, we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet. Whoever will take the time to read and ponder Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on "The Rising Tide of Color," or, say, the thoughtful review of some recent literature of this question which Mr.

D. La[illegible] present [illegible] recent Edinburgh Review, [illegible] ze that our race problem here in the United States is only a phase of a race issue that the whole world confronts. Surely we shall gain nothing by blinking the facts, by refusing to give thought to them. That is not the American way of approaching such issues.

### *Full Citizenship for Both.*

In another way the World War modified the elements of this problem. Thousands of black men, serving their country just as patriotically as did the white men, were transported overseas and experienced the life of countries where their color aroused less of antagonism than it does here. Many of them aspire to go to Europe to live.

A high-grade colored soldier told me that the war brought his race the first real conception of citizenship—the first full realization that the flag was their flag, to fight for, to be protected by them, and also to protect them. He was sure that the opportunity to learn what patriotism meant was a real opportunity to his race.

**These things lead one to hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races, in which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves, and in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts regardless of race or color.** Mr. Lugard, in his recent essay, after surveying the world's problem of races, concludes thus:

"Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material."

Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individualist's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual.

### *Would Bar Social Equality*

Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word "equality" eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference.

Colonizing countries everywhere have in recent times been more and more dealing with the problem from this point of view. The British commonwealth of nations and races confronts it, and has been seeking its solution along the lines here suggested. There is possibility of our learning something applicable to our own country from the British. It is true that there is a great difference between bringing into our own land the colonists of another race and going out to another land and subjecting it and its people to the rule of an alien race. Yet the two cases have so many elements of similarity that it seems to me the experience of each must furnish some light upon the other.

Take first the political aspect. **I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.** Especially would I appeal to the self respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of spirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in Southern States satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment.

On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The Providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing.

### *Wants Leaders for Negroes.*

But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the **race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in** the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. **Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.**

I can say to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state.

Coming as Americans do from many origins of race, tradition, language, color, institutions, heredity; engaged as we are in the huge effort to work an honorable national destiny from so many different elements; the one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on.

But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunately found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has risen superior to every appeal to mere class and group. And so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

### *Would Divide Black Vote.*

It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the processes of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section.

**Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely of one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.** Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country.

I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation or foreign relations or what-not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We cannot go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues because of a division on race lines.

With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise I plead with my own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct.

Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions lie in persuading the black people to forget old prejudices and to have them believe that, under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race.

### *No "Half-Baked Altruism."*

Every consideration, it seems to me, brings us back at last to the question of education. When I speak of education as a part of this race question, I do not want the States or the Nation to attempt to educate people, whether white or black, into something they are not fitted to be. I have no sympathy with the half-baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color, and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manuel work of a workaday world.

But I would like to see an education that would fit every man not only to do his particular work as well as possible but to rise to a higher plane if he would deserve it. For that sort of education I have no fears, whether it be given to a black man or a white man. From that sort of education, I believe, black men, white men, the whole Nation, would draw immeasurable benefit.

It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Recent legislation to restrict immigration will be in part responsible for a slacking ratio of increase. The new immigrants have multiplied in numbers much the more rapidly, but as the immigrants become Americanized, amalgamated into the citizenry, the tendency has been toward less rapid multiplication.

So restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder, manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. It has been easy, indeed, but it has not been good for the people of our older stock, that a constant inflow in immigration made it possible to crowd off these less attractive and profitable tasks upon the newcomers.

I don't think it has been good for what the old Latins called the national virtue. That is a word I have always liked, employed in the Roman sense. I wish we might have adopted it into our vocabulary in this sense. It strikes me as a good deal better than morale.

Anyhow, we are under necessity to raise honest, hard, manual work to a new dignity if we are to get it done. We will have to make its compensations more generous, materially and, if I may say it, spiritually; to make usefulness of service rather than spotlessness of hands the test of whatever social recognition depends on the individual's occupation. I confess a large disgust with all such classifications, and I earnestly bespeak an attitude toward good, honorable, hard work that will end them.

**I do not want to coddle and patronize labor; I want us all to get out, put on blue denims, roll up our sleeves, let our hands be honorably soiled, and do the work. That's what we've got to do if we are to get on. We must do it, and be glad we can; for there is small chance that we will ever again have such armies of laborers landing on these shores as have come in the past.**

### *"Lay Aside Old Prejudices."*

In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population, and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable. At any rate, here is a problem and it is pressing for settlement.

Is it not possible, then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the Nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves capable of doing this we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safety of our whole country regardless of race or sections and along the line of ideals superior to every consideration of groups or class, of race or color or section or prejudice.

Here are the reflexes of magical industrial development, here are the fruits in the making of a nation and its commitment to free productivity and trade. There is a materialism which sometimes seems sordid, but on the material foundation we have expanded in soul and we have seen this Republic the example to freedom aspiring throughout the world. We wish to cling to all that is good. We want to preserve the inheritance over which we fought because our conflict made it more precious. But we wish to go on as well as preserve.

The march of a great people is not a blind one. We cannot be unmindful of human advancement. We wish to be more than apace with progress—we wish our America leading and choosing safe paths. Fifty years is a narrow span. Yet the marvel of Birmingham is less than the marvel of our astounding America. And we mean to go on. If we are just and honest in administering justice, if we are alive to perils and meet them in conscience and courage, the achievement of your first half century will be magnified tenfold in the second half, and the glory of your city and your country will be reflected in the happiness of a great people, greater than we dream and grander for understanding and the courage to be right.

Race Problem — 1921.

United States.

President Harding's Speech at Birmingham (Ala.)

# President's Plea for Equality of Status of Whites and Blacks

N.Y. World 10/27/21

*BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—High points in President Harding's address to-day, dealing with racial problems, were:*

Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence of things social and racial.

Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality.

**I would say, let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.**

I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. There must be education among the colored people, as it will enable them to develop their own leaders.

I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.

*In another speech the President made the following remark that might be applicable to the threatened railroad strike:*

The Nation which withstood internecene conflict so heroically fought as the Civil War will tolerate the threat of no minority which challenges the supremacy of law or endangers our common welfare. **There will never come the day when the rights of any minority are denied, however formidable or weak it may be, but no minority shall ever challenge the supremacy of the rule of law.**

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# BREAK SOLID SOUTH, SPLIT BLACK VOTE, NO SOCIAL EQUALITY, I' DING RACE IDEA

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## In Frank Speech at Birmingham President Declares for Economic and Political Parity to Smash Racial Lines and to Overcome Prejudice.

## NEGROES CHEER WILDLY; WHITES STOLIDLY SILENT.

## Chief Executive, However, Gets Great Reception in Streets and Is Cheered Full Minute When He Appears at Luncheon—Gets LL. D. Degree.

New York World 10/27/21

(From a Staff Correspondent of The World.)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26—Using President Harding as the sledge hammer, the Republican Party today continued its effort to-day to drive a wedge into the Democratic South. Addressing citizens of Birmingham at the semi-centennial Cabin Foundation of that city, the President made an earnest plea for the breaking up of a "solidly Democratic South" in a speech that had as its theme the question of economic, not social, equality as between the black and white races.

The plea was couched in language that left nothing to the imagination in so far as the opinion of the Chief Executive on the question of the equality of races was concerned. At the same time he enunciated a new policy to be followed by the Republicans in the effort to win the South.

President Harding's speech, delivered before from 30,000 to 40,000 persons, one-third of which were negroes, gathered in Woodrow Wilson Park, championed the right of the negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages, but insisted that this right must be solely on pride of race and under no conditions one of social equality.

### Not Social Equality.

The new Republican policy and the championing of the cause of the negro were interwoven into a blunt discussion of the insuperable difference between the two races. **"Politically and economically,"** he said, **"there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation for limitation of the individual's opportunity, provided that, on both sides, there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial."**

"When both races," he added, "may well stand uncompormisingly against every suggestion of social equality."

In intimating the new policy of the Republican Party toward the negro, the President said, "I plead with my own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end to prejudice and demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity."

President Harding's speech to-day is probably the boldest ever attempted in the South on the racial question by any Republican of importance, and certainly by any official of the Government. Coming from the Chief Executive of the Nation it filled his hearers with amazement.

### Whites Stolidly Silent.

**While it was entwined with an eulogy of the South, it was nevertheless plainly political, and no effort was made to smooth the language employed. The thousands of negroes present cheered themselves hoarse as they heard their cause championed by the President, but there was a stolid silence and no hint of applause from the throng of white men and women.**

**Drastic outspoken attack is the keynote of the new Republican policy in the South,** the leaders of the party admit, and the attitude taken by the President to-day is bu the furtherance of a policy already put into effect, with success, it is claimed, in Virginia, Georgia and Mississippi.

**Included in this policy is a solemn promise to those white persons who are friendly to the G. O. P. that the negro shall no longer be the dominant party factor in the South. He plainly told the negros to-day that the present leaders of the Republican Party wish "the tradition of a solid Republican black race broken up."**

The racial and political phases of the President's speech came after an eloquent tribute to the remarkable progress of the South in industrial development, especially since the opening days of the Civil War.

### Race Question Is National.

From this eulogy of the South and "the magic City," as Birmingham is called, the President turned to discuss the race question. He declared that the problem is a national one and added that the vastly accelerated migrations of colored people during the World War to the North and West has brought the question closer to the peoples of those sections. They were made to realize the difficulties of a community in which those so greatly differing are brought to live side by side.

In going into the political aspects of the racial problem, President Harding, after insisting that "we shall gain nothing by blinking facts," declared that **"I would elt the black man vote when he is fit to vote and prohibit the white man voting when he is not fit to vote."**

The negroes cheered themselves hoarse when the President pointed out that thousands of their race had served their country just as patriotically as did the white man in the World War, but they were silent when he turned to them and when, after warning against the arraying of class against class, he asserted that "I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that it is possible for him. He should seek to be and he should be encouraged to be the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man."

### Must Stop Color Line.

In speaking again of politics and the negro, he warned against the development of group and class organization in this country. After insisting that he does want to see either the South or the negro entirely of one party, he made another plea for the breaking up of the tradition of "a solidly Democratic South," and the tradition of "a solidly Republican black race." He insisted that "we cannot go on as we havge gone for more than half a century, with one great section of our population set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines."

**President Harding arrived in Birmingha min his special car this morning and was met at the station by the Executive Committee of the semi-centennial exercises and sixty-seven representatives of the sixty-seven counties in Aalabama. He was taken direct t othe hotel Tutweiler, his headquarters while here, and was presented to the members of the State legislature and Gov. Thomas E. Kilby, assembled in the ball room.**

Both sides of the street were banked deep with men, women and children, held back by lines of boy scouts, national guards and American Legion men. There was a band on almost every corner.

### Bestows D. S. M. on Col. Bare.

**From the park after speaking, the** President returned to the hotel and attended a luncheon given jointly in his and Senator Underwood's honor. He was cheered fully a minute when he appeared. The President made a short speech there and pinned the distinguished medal upon the breast of Lieut Col. W. E. Bare, who served with the 167th Infantry, Rainbow Division during the war.

In the course of his speech at the luncheon, President Harding, in a plea for applied concord and patriotic devotion in solving the problems of peace, which, he said, is not an easy task in a world disordered by the upheavals of war, made a statement that was construed in two ways by his hearers. He declared that we would succeed in solving these problems because the country is unshaken by the world cataclysm, the foundations of this country are eternally right."

"The Nation which withstood internecine conflict, so heroically fought as the Civil War, will tolerate the threat of no minority which challenges the supremacy of law or endangers our common welfare. **There will never come the day when the rights of any minority are denied, however formidable or weak it may be, but no minority shall ever challenge the supremacy of the rule of law."**

After the luncheon the President went to the First Methodist Church, where he was invested with the degree of L. L. D., by the President of the Birmingham-Southern College. He then attended the laying of the cornerstone of the new Masonic Temple being erected here, and later inspected a fashion and automobile show and a demonstration of mine rescue work.

To-night President Harding attended two dinners, one given in honor of Senator Underwood and another to himself and Mrs. Harding at the Country Club, and reviewed a pageant of the various stages of the development of Birmingham in Westhaven Park.

### Inspects Camp To-Day.

The President and Mrs. Harding and party left Birmingham at midnight for Camp Benning, Ga., where to-morrow he will inspect the infantry officers' training centre. From there he will go to Atlanta, where he will spend several hours.

**None of the citizens of the City of Birmingham would discuss the President's speech in connection with the racial problems, but Gov. Kilby said to-night he emphatically approved the President's statement as to a broader political, economic and educational advantages for the negro race.**

To-day's appearance was President Harding's fulfillment of a promise made last summer, when Clarence B. Miller, Secretary of Republican National Committee; Joe Kealing, National Committeeman from Indiana, and various others called a meeting in Atlanta and reorganized the party there, leaving out the negroes.

It is really the continuation of the series of incidents of which the sidetracking of Henry Lincoln Johnson, the lone negro member of the National Committee was one and the proclamation of Frank Linney of North Carolina was another. Linney was Chairman of the State Central Committe and sent out a letter proposing to join with the Democrats and eliminate the negroes from poiltics for years to come. It raised a storm of protests from the negroes but Linney was rewarded by being made United States District Attorney for the State by President Harding in spite of Senator Borah's effort to defeat his confirmation because of his attitude [illegible] the negro.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

President Harding's Speech.

# *Social Equality for Negro Impossible, Says President, Pleading Fair Treatment*

## Harding, in Birmingham Address, Discusses Negro Problem — Participates in Series of Affairs.

The Atlanta Constitution 10/27/21

Birmingham, Ala., October 26.—North and south, whites and blacks, were admonished by President Harding here today to put aside old prejudices and pretenses and set the face of the nation courageously toward a constructive and permanent solution of the race problem.

In a sweeping presentation of his views, which was received with varying manifestations of emotion by a crowd of several thousand whites and negroes, the president declared social equality between the races must not be considered a possibility, but that the black man must have an increased political, economic and educational opportunity if the American nation is to live true to its tradition of democracy.

The address, one of five delivered here by the president during a day's visit to the Birmingham semi-centennial celebration, was driven home with vigorous gesture and deliberate utterance such as Mr. Harding seldom has employed since he became chief executive. He spoke with a manifest determination to drive his shafts to the heart of racial disagreements and to make the pronouncecemnt one of the most plain-spoken of his administration.

**Negroes Cheer Repeatedly.**

Repeated bursts of cheering swept the segregated sections allotted to the negroes as they caught portions of the speech relating to political and economic opportunity. In the white section there were occasional ripples of applause as the significance of a phrase here and there was realized and pondered by those near the speaker.

In other parts of the city, during a day crowded with events of many varieties, Mr. Harding was received with a succession of intensive demonstrations. For a mile he rode through surging crowds in a street parade, a roar of cheering accompanying him from start to finish. He was cheered nearly a minute when he appeared to speak at a luncheon after the park address, and he received repeated applause as attired in scholastic cap and gown he addressed the students of Birmingham Southern college and then wearing a Masonic apron, he laid the corner stone of a new Masonic temple.

Throughout the day the president insisted that his visit to the heart of the south was wholly nonpartisan and everywhere he went he was accompanied by Senator Underwood, of Alabama, the democratic leader of the senate. At a reception late in the day at the Republican club he asked Senator Underwood to stand at his side and shake hands with each of those in the line, and in his luncheon address he paid a warm tribute to the statesmanship of the Alabama legislator. During the early evening he paid a call on Mr. Underwood's mother in the residential section of Birmingham.

**Speech Carefully Prepared.**

The speech on the race problem, about which centered the interest of the many thousands who are here to celebrate the semi-centennial, was a carefully prepared deliverance setting forth the president's views in direct terms. In it he appealed to the republican party to desist from "demagogy" in making the black man a mere adjunct of republicanism; warned the south that blacks should vote "when fit to vote," and insisted that there must be equal educational opportunity. Against social equality he urged both races to stand "uncompromisingly," and suggested that "natural segregations" might be the logical result of a properly applied policy.

10/27/21

Twice the executive departed from his manuscript, once to declare he was speaking his sentiments here in the south because he never wanted to say anything in one place he could not say in another, and again to point a forefinger at the white section of the audience and warn that "whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is a lie you must stand for that equality" which gives the black man a just economic opportunity.

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# PRESIDENT HARDING SPEAKS BEFORE BIG CROWD IN MAGIC CITY

## Urges Laying Aside of Racial Prejudices; Delivers Five Addresses

## PRAISES UNDERWOOD

## Takes Official Part in Cornerstone Laying of New Masonic Temple

The Montgomery Advertiser 10/27/21

(Associated Press)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 26—North and South, whites and blacks were admonished by President Harding here today to put aside old prejudices and pretenses and set the face of the nation courageously toward a constructive and permanent solution of the r[illegible] problem.

1921 TUSKEGEE Work

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The crowd before whom he appeared was packed in the inadequate confines of Woodrow Wilson park, and many hundreds on the outskirts, apparently unable to hear, kept up a hubbub whch maid his declarations inaudible to all but those who were close by. Repeated bursts of cheering swept the segregated sections alloted to the negroes, as they caught portions of the speech relating to political and economic opportunity. In the white section there were occasional ripples of applause as the signifiance of a phrase here and there was realized and pondered by those near the speaker.

In other parts of the city, during a day crowded with events of many varieties,, Mr. Harding was received with a succession of intensive demonstrations. For a mile he rode through surging crowds in a street parade, a roar of cheering accompanying him from start to finish. He was cheered nearly a minute when he appeared to speak at a luncheon after the park address, and he received repeated applause as, attired in scholastic cap and gown,, he addressed the students of Birmingham-Southern College and then wearing a Masonic apron, he laid the cornerstone of a new Masonic Temple.

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**Twice the executive departed from his manuscript, once to declare he was speaking his sentiments here in the South because he never wanted to say anything in one place he could not say in another, and again to point a forefinger at the white section of the audience and warned that "whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality" which gives the black man a just economic opportunity.**

Of the shorter speeches which helped make up the president's program, the first was delivered to members of the Alabama legislature soon after his arrival here early in the day on a special train from Washington. The legislators were assembled in a room at Mr. Harding's hotel when he reached there, and he took the occasion to emphasize that he had come on a non-political mission and to caution them that the test of government efficiency was not in party emblems, but in service. If the democratic party did not serve Alabama, he said, it never could continue in power.

Later a similar sentiment was expressed at the luncheon given in Mr. Harding's honor at the Tutwiler Hotel. Before he paid his tribute to Senator Underwood, the democratic leader, had alluded to the long friendship between the two and declared his personal regard for the president despite their political differences. Mr. Underwood also referred to his being selected as one of the delegates to the armament conference, and continued:

"The president and I have held opposite views on the fundamentals of political principles, but we are not playing politics now. We have crossed the 'three-mile limit,' and are fighting together the battles of America."

Again at the cornerstone laying, Senator Underwood referred to the hopes of the nation in the armament conference and appealed to the Masons present "and to every other Mason to give your aid of sustaining confidence in the trying months that are just ahead."

A tribute to the aid of Masonry in the building of citizenship was paid by the president in the address he delivered after wielding a trowel in the placing of the cornerstone. Suggesting that there had been a misunderstanding of the purposes and requirements of the organization, the president said:

**"I want to tell those outside the**

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# HARDING PLEADS FOR TOLERANCE

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# TOWARD NEGRO

The Montgomery Ala. Journal 10/27/21

## Things Social and Racial Absolutely Different Between Races.

## WANTS PACTS BROKEN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,Oct. 26—The right of the American negro to broader political, conomic and educational advantages, based on a pride of race, but never on an aspiration for social equality, was championed by President Harding here today in a plainly worded enunciation of his views on the whole American race problem.

These are some of the principles on which the President appealed to the nation to "lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms" and gives support to a constructive policy of racial relationship.

**Social and Racial Differences**

"Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, provided on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial".

"I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote".

"I wish that both the tradition of a solidly republican black race might be broken-up".

"I would insist upon equal educational opportunities for both".

**No Social Equality**

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. This is not a question of social equality but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal inescapable difference."

"Racial amalgamation, there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it."

"The black man should seek to be and he should be, encouraged to be the best possible black black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man".

**Almost Exclusive To Race Question**

The President's address which brought him from Washington on his first extended trip into the south since inauguration was delivered at a semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of Birmingham. It was devoted almost exclusively to the race question although Mr. Harding also took occasion to praise the south for its industrial recovery and to renew his faith in the world leadership of a reunited nation. He said in part:-

"The world war brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the world war was marked bya great migration of colored people to the north and west. They were attracted by the demand for and the higher wages offered. It has brought the question of race closer to the north and west and I believe it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question. It has made the south realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the north realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly differing races are brought to live side by side. I should say that it had has been responsible for a larger charity on both sides, a beginning of better understanding perhaps we shall be able to consider this problem together as a problem of all sections and of both races in whose solution the best intelligence of both must be enlisted.

### World Confronts Issue

"Indeed we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet. Whoever will take the time to read and ponder Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on 'the rising tide of color' or say the thoughtful review of some recent literature of this question which Mr. F. D. Lugard presented in a recent Edinburg review must realize that our race problem here in the U. S. is only a phase of the race issue that the whole world confronts. Surely we will gain nothing by blinking the facts; by refusing to give thought to them; that is not the American way of approaching such issues. Mr. Lugard in his recent essay, after surveying the world's problem of races, concludes thus: 'Here, then is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolutely equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal administration for those who achieve success; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material matters.'

### Best Way Out

"Here it seems to me is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it is precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individuals.

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed it would be helpful to have the word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration, to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and iescapable difference.

"We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in our public and community though of both races which recognizes this difference.

### Political Aspect.

"Take the political aspect, I would say let the black man vote when is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations with narrowing any rights such as are preceeding in both rural and urban communities now in southern states, satisfying natural inclinations and adding nobly to happiness and contentment.

"On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity, there must be if humanity not only here, but everywhere is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.

### Not Sectional Matter.

"I can say to you people of the south, both white and black that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your own problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the north; more and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, the Pacific; of the south seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state.

"The one thing we must avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been time when we heard too much about the labor vote; the business vote; the Irish vote; the Scandinavian vote; the Italian vote; and so on. But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group, have fortunately found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has arisen superior to every appeal to mere class and group. And, so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to and he should be encouraged to be the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

### Reservoir of Ignorance.

"It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the south shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the process of migration into all sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section. Just as I do not wish the south to be politically entirely of one party; just as I believe that that it bad for the south and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party; I wish that both the tradition of a solidly democratic south and the tradition of a solid republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper out country.

"With such convictions one must urge the people of the south to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise, I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the south understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity.

### Back to Education.

"Every consideration, it seems to me brings us back at last to the question of education. When I speak of education as a part of this race question, I do not want the states of the nation to attempt to educate people, whether white or black into something they are not fitted to be. I have no sympathy with the half baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manual work of a work-a-day world. But I would like to see an education that would fit every man not only to do his particular work as well as possible but to rise to a higher plane if he would desire it. For that sort of education, I have no fears whether it be given to a black man or a white man. From that sort of education, I believe black men, white men, the whole nation, would draw immeasureable benefit.

"It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of the very rapid increase in our population. Restricted emmegration will reduce and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. In anticipation of such a condition the south may well reorganize north and west are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population and that if the south wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding, it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal fairly with him, the south will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable.

### Lay Aside all Prejudicies.

"Is it not possible then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves capable of doing this, we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safety of our whole country, regardless of race or sections and along the lines of ideals superior to every consideration of groups or class, of race or color, or section or prejudice."

Race Problem—1921

United States

President Hardings Speech

# HARDING DECLARES NEGROES MUST HAVE POLITICAL EQUALITY

NEW YORK HERALD
OCTOBER 27, 1921

## Opposes Social Amalgamation, but Urges Full Economic Opportunity.

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## TALKS AT BIRMINGHAM

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## Attacks 'Solid South' Theory, Also Lining Up Blacks as G. O. P. Adjunct.

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## CLASS IGNORANCE WRONG

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## President Warns Southerners to Avoid Driving Away Colored Population.

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*Special Despatch to* THE NEW YORK HERALD

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—President Harding to-day at Birmingham, the greatest industrial centre of the South, enunciated a new policy, so far as the Republican party and the nation are concerned, on the race issue.

The President without equivocation and with great emphasis declared to an audience, which so far as its white components were concerned was hostile to him politically, that the black race could not and should not aspire to social or racial equality, and that it must and should have political and economic equality.

In his address the President cast aside political considerations and ran counter to the advice and suggestion of some of the ablest workers in the Republican party.

The effect of the address is problematical, but it fell cold upon the largest audience Mr. Harding has addressed since he took the oath of office. Birmingham, celebrating its semi-centennial, turned out an enormous crowd, which gave to the President a welcome at every one of a half a dozen functions in honor of the Chief Executive and of the city. Because of the crowd's size and the unfavorable situation it was manifest that thousands did not hear. It was significent that the races were segregated in the audience by the local committee on arrangements.

### Social Equality Phase.

The President said "Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapeable difference."

It was significant that the President's principal speech prepared in advance and delivered from the text almost without variation, was addressed to "Mr. Mayor, Citizens of Birmingham and All People of the South." His principal speech here to-day follows in full:

"I have been wondering, as we have seen the Birmingham district and the marvels of this region's industrial development, whether any of us have yet quite realized the significance of the fact that Birmingham has been called 'The Magic City.' The basic, characteristic industry on which modern civilization rests is iron and steel, and Birmingham is the world's last word in development of the iron and steel industries.

"We have come here to pay tribute to the marvellous achievement of a brief half century to which this city and its industries stand as a monument. They testify to us how far the South has progressed in a single generation; the generation since slavery was abolished and the rule of free labor and unfettered industrial opportunity became the rule of all of our great republic.

"Somewhere my attention has been called to the legend, possibly a historical fact, that when Fernando de Soto was leading his expedition of exploration and conquest from Florida to the Mississippi, some of his metal workers not only discovered the wonderful deposits of coal, limestone and iron ore in this area and told De Soto that here was an even greater treasure house than that which he was seeking; not an El Dorado of precious metals, but the opportunity for making the world's dominating iron industry. I have been told, I do not know whether it is literally true, that the first reduction of iron in this district was actually accomplished by members of the De Soto party who supplied certain of the expedition's needs by smelting some of these wonderful ores. But De Soto was led on by the mirage which filled his vision and instead of the pot of gold he sought, he found the mighty Mississippi and in it his grave.

### Used by Andrew Jackson.

"So far as concerns more modern development, it appears that Gen. Andrew Jackson also utilized your mineral and metal riches. When he was on his march to New Orleans for the great battle in which the yeomaury of the South won the single notable land victory of the War of 1812, his metallurgists discovered that from these easily smelted ores they could supply their requirements of iron, of which they stood in great need. Accordingly, they erected rude furnaces and reduced considerable quantities of iron. From that time on there appears to have been more or less sporadic and intermittent utilization of these deposits, and during the civil war they provided a considerable part of the needs of the South.

"In this connection I have many times wished that there might be a wider appreciation of the energy, resourcefulness and genius for industrial development which the people of the South demonstrated during that war. Essentially an aristocratic agricultural region, the South suddenly confronted the need to turn out iron and steel, and a vast complexity of their products which were absolutely essential to the conduct of the war. Not only did they arise to the occasion, but they gave what I have regarded as one of the greatest demonstrations in all history of the possibilities of adaptation, organization and industrial development under stress of great necessity.

"We will do well to recognize that the industrial achievement of the South during the civil war was one of the marvels resulting from that unhappy conflict. It marked the beginning of that diversification of industry which has made the South of to-day an industrial as well as an agricultural empire. I have often wished that some inspired son of the South might one day devote the time and effort necessary to record the history of that Aladdin-like industrial wonder which was a large part of the story of the South in the civil contest. It is one of the phases of American history that has had too little understanding attention.

"When we have studied the civil war we have been so engrossed with military and political aspects that we have slighted the industrial and economic phases. I am going to venture, therefore, the suggestion that a comprehensive study of that aspect of the war period would be of inestimable value to the South and to the great story of our national progress. Not only would it constitute an eloquent testimony to the genius and devotion of our Southern people, but it would present a picture of opening opportunity and widening horizon whose contemplation would challenge every remaining vestige of prejudice and sectional antagonism.

### South's Deeds in War.

"It has been a truism that the war between the States started the nation as a whole in its way of colossal industrial growth. But I have wished that the particular story of that wartime experience in the South might be better known. I have been told of the almost overnight development of munition factories out of smithies; of the expansion of railroad repair shops into locomotive works; how ship yards, ordnance plants, powder factories were conjured up and put at work almost in the twinkling of an eye; of improvised industrial processes and mechanical contrivances, not a few of which have been of permanent value, some of them fairly revolutionary.

"We will, I am sure, be forgiven if, as Americans, we remind ourselves that wooden navies had fought each other for thousand of years until Americans fell to fighting among themselves. Then came iron fighting craft—came so quickly and unanimously that both sides had their first armored warships ready at the same moment, so well matched that they fought to a draw. It was a revolution; yet it was only one incident in this matching of American genius and resourcefulness in titantic struggle.

"The railway and the telegraph were first bidden to the service of war on a great scale during our civil contest. The huge ordnance which both North and South created and used was as sensational in that day as the most startling constructions of the world war were more than a generation later. In both South and North our people learned and demonstrated what it means to mobilize all the human, industrial, financial, scientific resources of a great community for the purposes of war. That, indeed, was the most characteristic and most revolutionary development of the struggle. When we had done with our war we had well nigh made over the whole art of war. The old things were gone forever. By land or by sea both its material and its methods were sweepingly changed. Glory and glamour had been taken out of it and in their place had been put the grim, hard reality of whole peoples measuring against each other their last ounce of power and resources.

"In that contest of industry and resources the South started with a fearful handicap; a handicap so great that its accomplishments constituted one of the industrial wonders of all time. It is to this wonder that I have wanted to call attention to-day, for I have felt that it has never been appraised as it ought to be. From that contest the South emerged, not only with the foundation of industrial greatness securely laid but freed from the incubus of a labor system that had from Colonial times chained it to the status of an almost purely agricultural community.

"The industrial and commercial development of States and peoples has always been strikingly influenced by their wars; perhaps even more than their social and political development. That older war founded industry in the South under stress of sternest necessity; and so we may recognize in your Birmingham district and its industrial splendor one of the fine products of the industrial revolution which was forced upon the whole South.

"We are gathered to-day to celebrate the semi-centenary of the founding of Birmingham. That this wonder could be wrought in so brief a time tells us how fast our modern world moves; so fast that we are wont to forget our yesterdays before our to-days are fairly begun; so absorbing in its concerns of the present that too often we have neither time nor interest for the morrow. Yet there never was a time when we needed so much to study our past and, in the light of its lessons, give earnest thought to the to-morrows. So I have thought that here in your magic city, whose story seems a very compress of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow, it may be proper to suggest a few thoughts regarding the critical times which are faced by our country and all countries and some of the issues which command our consideration.

"Exhausted and affrighted by the horrors of the world war, the nations are seeking means to prevent repetition of such an experience. They see the need for effective reform in international relationships, and, along with this, for many alterations and adaptations of domestic institutions which will better fit them for the new time. Our own country, though its necessities are less onerous, its difficulties not so grievous as those of many others, has yet occasion to consider wherein it may better its methods, adjust itself to the new relationships, and equip itself for the new sort of struggle that lies ahead. Concerning one phase of this national problem, I want to say a few words.

"If the civil war marked the beginnings of industrialism in a South which had previously been almost entirely agricultural, the world war brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the world war was marked by a great migration of colored people to the North and West. They were attracted by the demand for labor and the higher wages offered. The slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since. It has brought the question of race closer to North and West, and I believe it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question. It has made the South realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the North realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly differing races are brought to live side by side. I should say that it has been responsible for a larger charity on both sides, a beginning of better understanding; and in the light of that better understanding perhaps we shall be able to consider this problem together as a problem of all sections and of both races, in whose solution the best intelligence of both must be enlisted.

### Whole World Confronts Issue.

"Indeed, we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet. Whoever will take the time to read and ponder Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on 'The Rising Tide of Color,' or, say, the thoughtful review of some recent literature of this question which Mr. F. D. Lugard presented in a recent *Edinburgh Review*, must realize that our race problem here in the United States is only a phase of a race issue that the whole world confronts. Surely we shall gain nothing by blinking the facts, by refusing to give thought to them. That is not the American way of approaching such issues.

"In another way the world war modified the elements of this problem. Thousands of black men, serving their country just as patriotically as did the white men, were transported overseas and experienced the life of countries where their color arouses less of antagonism than it does here. Many of them aspire to go to Europe to live.

"A high grade colored soldier told me that the war brought his race the first real conception of citizenship—the first full realization that the flag was their flag, to fight for, to be protected by them and also to protect them. He was sure that the opportunity to learn what patriotism meant was a real opportunity to his race.

"These things lead one to hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races, in which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves, and in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts, regardless of race or color. Mr. Lugard, in his recent essay, after surveying the world's problem of races, concludes thus:

"'Here then is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material.'

"Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual.

### Fundamental Difference.

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference.

"Colonizing countries everywhere have in recent times been more and more dealing with the problem from this point of view. The British commonwealth of nations and races confronts it, and has been seeking its solution along the lines here suggested. There is possibility of our learning something applicable to our own country from the British. It is true that there is a great difference between bringing into our own land the colonists of another race and going out to another land and subjecting it and its people to the rule of an alien race. Yet the two cases have so many elements of similarity that it seems to me the experience of each must furnish some light upon the other.

"Take first the political aspect. I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in Southern States, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment.

"On the other hand I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The Providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing.

"But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.

### Problem of Democracy.

"I can say to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state

"Coming, as Americans do, from many origins of race, tradition, language, color, institutions, heredity; engaged as we are in the huge effort to work an honorable national destiny from so many different elements, the one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on. But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunately found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has risen superior to every appeal to mere class and group. And so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

"It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservior of ignorance, to be drained away by the processes of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section. Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country.

"I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We cannot go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines.

### End to Prejudice Urged.

"With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise, I plead with my own political party to lay aside every programme that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions lie in persuading the black people to forget old prejudices and to have them believe that, under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race.

"Every consideration, it seems to me, brings us back at last to the question of education. When I speak of education as a part of this race question I do not want the States or the nation to attempt to educate people, whether white or black, into something they are not fitted to be. I have no sympathy with the half baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color, and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manual work of a workaday world. But I would like to see an education that would fit every man not only to do his particular work as well as possible, but to rise to a higher plane if he would deserve it. For that sort of education I have no fears, whether it be given to a black man or a white man. From that sort of education, I believe, black men, white men, the whole nation, would draw immeasurable benefit.

"It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Recent legislation to restrict immigration will be in part responsible for a slacking ratio of increase. The new immigrants have multiplied in numbers much the more rapidly, but as the immigrants become Americanized, amalgamated into the citizenry, the tendency has been toward less rapid multiplication. So restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase, and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder, manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. It has been easy, indeed, but it has not been good for the people of our older stock, that a constant inflow in immigration made it possible to crowd off these less attractive and profitable tasks upon the newcomers. I don't think it has been good for what the old Latins called the national virtue. That is a word I have always liked, employed in the Roman sense. I wish we might have adopted it into our vocabulary, in this sense. It strikes me as a good deal better than morale. Anyhow, we are under necessity to raise honest, hard, manual work to a new dignity if we are to get it done.

### Test of Social Recognition.

"We will have to make its compensations more generous, materially, and, if I may say it, spiritually; to make usefulness of service, rather than spotlessness of hands, the test of whatever social recognition depends on the individual's occupation. I confess a large disgust with all such classifications, and I earnestly bespeak an attitude toward good, honorable, hard work that will end them. I do not want to coddle and patronize labor; I want us all to get out, put on blue denims, roll up our sleeves, let our hands be honorably soiled, and do the work. That's what we've got to do, if we are to get on. We must do it, and be glad we can; for there is small chance that we will ever again have such armies of laborers landing on these shores as have come in the past.

"In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population, and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him, the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable. At any rate, here is a problem and it is pressing for settlement.

"Is it not possible, then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves capable of doing this we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safety of our whole country regardless of race or sections and along the line of ideals superior to every consideration of groups or class, of race or color or section or prejudice.

"Here are the reflexes of magical industrial development, here are the fruits in the making of a nation and its commitment to free productivity and trade. There is a materialism which sometimes seems sordid, but on the material foundation we have expanded in soul, and we have seen this republic the example to freedom aspiring throughout the world. We wish to cling to all that is good. We want to preserve the inheritance over which we fought because our conflict made it more precious. But we wish to go on as well as preserve.

"The march of a great people is not a blind one. We can not be unmindful of human advancement. We wish to be more than apace with progress—we wish our America leading and choosing safe paths. Fifty years is a narrow span. Yet the marvel of Birmingham is less than the marvel of our astounding America. And we mean to go on. If we are just and honest in administering justice, if we are alive to perils and meet them in conscience and courage, the achievement of your first half century will be magnified tenfold in the second half, and the glory of your city and your country will be reflected in the happiness of a great people, greater than we dream and grander for understanding and with courage to be right."

Race Problem — U. S. 1921.

Gilpin, Charles S.

# DRAMA LEAGUE BARS GILPIN, STAR OF 'EMPEROR JONES,' FROM BANQUET TABLE ON SCORE OF COLOR LINE

New York News 2/17/21

## Hypocritical Note Sent by League Recognizes Noted Black Actor as One of Year's Greatest Stars, but Declines to Send Him Invitation to Coming Dinner

(From the N. Y. Tribune)

A cloud, so to speak, has been lifted from the banquet tables of the Drama League, of 7 East 42d street, and pushed, with a gentle puff, into outer darkness. Or changing the figure, the dark star which has risen may continue to shine, or may set, but will not sit with the other stars at the festive board.

In plainer speech, the league has found a solution to the problem of how to entertain last year's ten biggest contributors to dramatic art without including Charles Gilpin, the negro whose success in "The Emperor Jones" started the Provincetown Players on a royal road to affluence.

The directors foresaw this problem. After announcing that a vote would be taken to determine the personnel of the leading theatrical benefactors, exclusive of the moneyed public, it occurred to them that Gilpin might receive a higher vote, through the gratitude of players profiting by his triumph, and because he really had accomplished something noteworthy. And others, of radical tendencies, it was thought, might vote for him for the very reason that he is a negro, and therefore not apt to get a square deal.

But as this dark star loomed brighter in the directors' fancy, it is said that the other lights of the theatrical firmament showed signs of fading away. There was a genuine stellar pull in the opposite direction, apparent in a letter registering a positive kick against including Gilpin in the list of ten.

With keen logic, the Drama League recognized the influences of the established solar system and ruled that Gilpin should not be included among the dinner guests, because his acting, although distinctive, had shown his own race to bad advantage, and therefore was not in his favor, and also because, if he were invited, he probably would not attend, so what would be the use of inviting him?

**Gilpin to Get Letter**

The conclusion was that Gilpin would prefer a nice little letter assuring him of the Drama League's esteem, and informing him of the honor accorded him in the receipt of so many votes, placing him third or fourth in the list.

The Drama League's dinner will be given at the McAlpin Hotel on March 6, and 250 persons thus far have signified that they will attend.

The stage folk to be honored at the banquet, and the reasons therefor, are announced as follows: David Belasco, as manager and director; Lionel Atwell, Ben-Ami, Gilda Varesi, Fred Stone and Frank Craven, for their acting; Eugene O'Neill, as the creator of "The Emperor Jones," in which Gilpin stars; Lee Simonson and Dudley Digges, for their work in "Heartbreak House"; Mary Garden, as a woman executive in opera; Arthur Hopkins for his courage and confidence in the public; Margaret Severn, for making the mask a factor on the stage; Robert Edmond Jones, for creating the setting of "Samson and Delilah."

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# CRITICS DISAGREE OVER ART OF CHARLES GILPIN

### Colored Actor, Star In All White New York Play Is Centre Of Many Storms

Afro-American

### WHITES APPLAUD

2/25/21

### Colored Critics Declare Play "Both Humiliating And Degrading"

Feb. 23.—Mr. Gilpin announced today that he had definitely accepted the invitation of the Drama League to be one of its ten honored guests at the McAlpin Hotel March 6th. He will also attend the dinner of the Civic Club.

New York, Feb. 24.—(Special) Charles S. Gilpin, colored actor, who is playing the leading part in the "Emperor Jones" with the Provincetown Players, all of whom are white, at the Princess Theater here is the centre of many storms.

Gilpin has been the rage of New York's stage, and white critcs have fallen over themselves in acknowledging him the biggest sensation of the season. In the balloting under the direction of the Drama League, white, Mr. Gilpin easily won a place as one of the year's ten biggest contributors to dramatic art.

With the announcement that as one of the honored ten, he would be invited to the big dinner of the Drama League on March 6th, the first storm broke and several actors from the South announced their intention not to attend. Quite as many from the North also declared they would not be present unless Mr. Gilpin were invited. Six of the ten guests of honor asked the League to invite Mr. Gilpin.

Gilda Varesi, white, one of them telegraphed with two others for permission to sit beside Gilpin at the dinner, saying "if you will invite Gilpin, I will be proud to sit beside him. She added:

"If there is any place on earth where race ought not be considered, it is in the Church and in art. God is God and genius is genius, and race ought not to make any difference."

**PLAY CONDEMNED BY GRAY**

While this war goes merrily on, Edgar M. Gray, representing the views of many colored critics, started another in the New York News of last week when he wrote:

"Emperor Jones" is a play in eight scenes by Mr. Eugene O'Neil, with our own Charles Gilpin in the leading role. As a "tragi-comedy" the play is unique, in that it is entirely devoid of either tragedy or comedy; which is never the case in such plays.

"The play in its entirety is uninstructive, degrading and does not conform to history nor geography in its plot or setting. The author sets his plot in the West Indies on some cannibal island and proceeds to depict a tribe so ignorant that they permit a lone Englishman to live down there among them unmolested; but upon the arrival of a man of their own race at once make an attempt on his life with pistol fire.

"By some peculiar chance the bullet misses and the natives believing the strange Negro to possess a charmed life proclaim him Emperor. This Negro is an American who had worked as a Pullman porter in the States, and who, having committed a crime, fled to the West Indies. In the entire play the word "Nigger" is used about fifty times. The phrases "Monkey chaser," "black trash," "black heathen" and other disgusting and degrading epithets are employed.

"Nowhere in the entire play is the Negro made to feel that he is capable of respectable behavior or high attainments. One might see the play all one's life and not gather anything sensible from seeing it. The play seems to have been intended by its author to impress the Negro and others that any independent leadership developed by the Negro could only be impersonated by recruits from the field of convicts and ignoramuses and not capable of respect or education.

"Mr. Gilpin's first speech takes up about forty-five minutes of the play, and as "Emporer Jones" is made to speak the most ignorant, improper and ungrammatical English, and to use such degrading and humiliating phrases about his race, that it is questionable whether any Jew, Irishman or Jap might be found to render such a characterization of his race."

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# MR. GILPIN THE ARTIST AND SOCIAL EQUALITY THEORY

New York Dispatch 2/25/21

By REV. RICHARD MANUEL BOLDEN

We have been wondering if there is not something of great value to be found in thinking about the application of democracy and equality among and within the sporting and artistic fraternities. In the realm of pugilism, while many individuals draw race distinction as a whole, these distinctions are vanquished by the man who can bring the largest financial returns to his promoters through his skilful tactics and superior combatitive efforts. While baseball and football have not as yet attained to this democratic standard, upon the teams of these various games are to be found many colored men who rise to great heights and distinction as athletes. The sprint and long-distance runners give recognition to the man, regardless to his color, who can speed through the air and across the tape first. In music and literature, rated according to certain standards, there are no race lines or distinctions. In order that you may be impressed with this thought we will cite just a few characters: Coleridge Taylor, our own Harry T. Burleigh, Alexander Dumas, Philis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the national critic of Boston, Mass., W. Stanley Braithwaite, Henry Tanner, who as a painter of Biblical descriptions stands out single and alone. And now why should not dramatic art proclaim and accept Mr. Charles Gilpin on equal footing with any other distinguished artist of the first magnitude? He has been proclaimed by the critics of dramatic art in our great city as a happy and most fortunate discovery in this field of achievement. While the col-

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(From other side)

ored people are delighted to think that in this land of ours, where prejudice lines and barriers are placed against colored aspirants for equality of opportunity and manhood, and Mr. Gilpin, because of his remarkable ability, has been psychologically lifted out of this environment, this should be the great reason for rejoicing, but it is Mr. Gilpin's triumph, not the colored race's.

Those who had charge of an affair that drew a racial distinction between Mr. Gilpin and other artists of his class are acting in accordance with the recognized custom and habits, and in the Southern section of our country the legalized methods, of discrimination against a colored man, regardless of who he is or what he stands for. Many of our religious and educational institutions and our National Government itself are more largely responsible for the action of the Drama League Directors than they are themselves.

In the face of these facts I am wondering as to what is the true motive in the drama "Emperor Jones." Is it built upon a plot that attempts to reveal the heathen and barbarious mind of a colored man's dreams of his rule and his loss of power through fear?

The attraction of this drama is in the fact that Mr. Gilpin, the make-believe Negro Monarch, creates wonder and amazement in the cool but forceful artistic manner he displays. This with the added publicity and notoriety makes the drama a tremendous drawing card, and the promoters, who are shrewd business men, will receive great financial gain.

We hope that the many published friends of Mr. Gilpin will continue to be interested in him, not only because he is a great actor, but also because as a representative of the colored race this is an opportunity for him to create a higher and better appreciation for the members of his race. Mr. Gilpin is a great dramatic artist, and he is to be congratulated for winning today so many distinguished women and men, who allowed themselves to be quoted in saying that they would not attend the dinner given unless Mr. Gilpin was invited. And some of them, perhaps it was the distinguished prima donna Mary Garden, the director of the Chicago Opera Company, who said that she would be happy to not only attend a dinner with Mr. Gilpin, but would take pleasure in sitting by his side.

I am sure these kind expressions may be very gratifying to Mr. Gilpin and to the members of his race, but I do not believe that he or any thoughtful member of his race will become hilarious, for there is much more to be gained than the pleasure of a dinner. With any race group, who, through a long period of their social history, look upon dining with a man or woman called Negro as degrading and demoralizing on the one hand and on the other as a courteous, sympathetic consideration, it must be FRIGHTFULLY embarrassing to the great many friends and admirers of colored individuals to have to explain and apologize to the superior white public for the BOLD and GROSS RELATIONS of the little and few feasts. We congratulate Mr. Charles Gilpin for his accomplishments that qualified him for this distinction ong the ten great artists of this season. May his success and wise deportment making him a hero through a social tempest in a TEA POT be a lesson for all aspiring members of the colored race in every profession and walk of life.

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# "EMPEROR JONES" THE HERO OF DRAMA LEAGUE DINNER

## Gilpin, the Negro Actor, Is Seated Among the Honor Guests Between Women and Is Cheered by His Fellow Actors.

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Charles Gilpin, the negro actor who is starring in "The Emperor Jones," not only attended the annual dinner of the New York Drama League last night at the Hotel McAlpin and ate with his white associates of the stage and the organization but he was quite the hero of the affair.

There had been much talk previously as to whether or not there might be vacant places at the tables because of Gilpin's presence, or as to whether, on the other hand, the dark-skinned actor might absent himself, or might just "drop in" on the party after dinner.

As it turned out, it was the biggest affair the league ever had. More than 600 men and women crowded the ball room. Gilpin sat almost in the centre of the table of honor, with Miss Gilda Varesi, star of "Enter Madame," on one side of him, Mrs. Rollin Kirby on the other, and Miss Margaret Wycherly close behind his elbow. His complexion made not the slightest difference to any of these, nor to the rest of the diners. Every one was extraordinarily cordial to him.

The dinner was in honor of the ten persons who, in the league's judgment, had contributed most to the stage during the year. They were presented in turn. When Gilpin arose to reply, the diners not only applauded for a full minute, but stood up and cheered him. He said he was filled beyond words with emotion at the kindness of the league to him and at the honor which had been bestowed upon him.

He was quite at ease, chatting and smoking continually with Miss Varesi and Miss Wycherly and exchanging comments with his other neighbors Jacob Ben-Ami, the Jewish actor, and Lee Simonson, the designer, who were also among the honor guests.

The ten who were designated by the league as having contributed most to the stage were Messrs. Gilpin, Ben-Ami and Simonson, Dudley Digges, director and actor in "Heartbreak House;" Lionel Atwill, leading man in "Deburau;" David Belasco, producer of the same, Miss Varesi, Miss Margaret Severn, for her dances in masks; Eugene O'Neill, as a playwright, and Fred Stone, as America's greatest comic. Messrs. O'Neill, Stone and Belasco were unable to be present.

Each of the honored guests responded briefly when introduced, and after the dinner Miss Severn explained and demonstrated her dances. Mr. Atwill and Miss Ruth Draper also entertained the guests.

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# GILPIN UPHOLDS NEGRO AS NATIVE

## Race Here Not Sporadic Growth, He Tells Civic Club, Whose Guest He Is.

New York World 3/7/21

"The Greenwich Villages, were they to move up to the Hotel McAlpin to live, would feel lost," said Charles S. Gilpin in his speech on "The Negro and the Stage," at an informal conference of 200 members and guests of the Civic Club, No. 14 West Twelfth Street, where he was chief guest yesterday afternoon. "It is the same way with the negro. He wants to be among his own kind. It is not a case of social equality, but of the brotherhood of man."

Gilpin gave a charitable interpretation of the racial attitude toward the negro in America, and made an appeal for a better understanding of him, so that the negro could be of the greatest service to the country, and the country could avail itself of his natural talents. The greatest handicap of the negro in America, he said, is the ignorance on the part of the remainder of the people of the great possibilities of the colored race.

He spoke briefly of negroes who had acquired distinction, not only in music and on the stage, but in other walks of life.

"The negro is not a sporadic growth in America," he said. "He is not even a hyphenated American. He is native born. I am not a sporadic growth from the negro race as an actor, for there have been others."

He spoke of Ira Aldridge, who had to go to England to receive recognition, and, after making a success upon the stage, was honored by crowned heads throughout Europe. He was once a call boy at Wallack's Theatre in New York.

Mr. Gilpin told of his own early struggles for recognition, how theatrical agencies had turned him away again and again, and he had worked as a Pullman porter between his attempts to get upon the stage.

Asked if he was in sympathy with the "Back to Africa" movement of some of the negro leaders, Gilpin said he was not. "How can you go back to a place where you have never been?" he asked.

Gilpin, Charles.

Race Problem – 1921.
United States.

the Bronx N. Y. C. GLOBE MAY 27, 1921 tness.

## GILPIN GOES TO GEORGIA.

The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph has been impressed with Charles Gilpin, who took the character part in Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," to the extent of writing a column-long editorial about him. The Telegraph likes Mr. Gilpin for his acting and for his sentiments. These sentiments are, briefly, that Gilpin is a Negro, and proud of being one, has friends of his own kind, and does not care to make his artistic success a stepping stone to a social career. "Only when the Negro ceases to desire to be an inferior white man and aspires to become the best possible Negro will he come into his own," says the Telegraph.

It is safe to say that all thoughtful Negroes will agree fully with this statement. The Negro seldom wishes to marry a white, and he realizes that for a time at least he will develop better through a kind of economic life which Negro leaders call "parallelism." This provides a Negro section with stores run by Negroes and with Negro doctors, teachers, lawyers, and bankers. Only by this type of life can the colored citizens of the United States develop the skill and intelligence to cope with their own problems. Only in this way, perhaps, can they gain the respect of whites in many portions of the United States. They find in a white community little opportunity to become stenographers, secretaries, or skilled workers, to say nothing of doctors, lawyers, and merchants. Perhaps it is best that for a time they should not find this opportunity, but to a large extent make their own social and economic life, meeting whites freely on a basis of political and business equality, and having a social position quite as respected as the white's but separate from it. Years will eradicate old prejudices and enable white America to give a nobler appraisal of Negro America than it now seems able to make.

Meanwhile the Negro has a full right to ask for equality and respect. It is sad but true that in many parts of the United States he has not obtained either. He may care no more to associate closely with the white than the white cares to associate with him, but he is justly sensitive to insult and persecution. The Telegraph says that it is the duty of the white south to deal with the Negro "in a spirit of justice, patience, kindness, and active helpfulness." This is a full statement of duty. It is lamentable that Governor Dorsey's appeal for the eradication of race persecution and discrimination should have aroused a storm of protest in Georgia. Until the state speaks more in the spirit of its executive Gilpin's story will go to Georgia in vain, and the Telegraph's good words will be meaningless.